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**LABOUR IN
PORTUGUESE WEST AFRICA**

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LABOUR
IN
Portuguese West Africa

BY
WILLIAM A. CADBURY

SECOND EDITION WITH AN ADDED CHAPTER



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PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

THIS book was written in the early part of the year 1909 on my return from Africa. A small edition was published for private distribution among a few personal friends ; copies were sent to the Foreign Office in London and a few officials abroad. It has since been translated into Portuguese, and will be widely distributed in Portugal.

An action in the Courts has prevented me from publishing in this country, but this being now ended, I am completing the book without delay by the addition of a preface and an added chapter. It deals almost entirely with the condition of affairs in the islands of S. Thomé and Principe, and the method of contracting and shipping at the coast.

The necessary delay referred to above has had one great advantage, that I am now able to refer to the completion of the work of Mr. Charles A. Swan, who undertook to investigate matters in the hinter-land of Angola while Mr. Burtt and I were visiting the islands and the coast.

I realized that it would be impossible for me to obtain information in the interior of Angola that

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would go further than the straightforward statements of Mr. Burtt's report (Appendix A). I therefore invited Mr. Charles A. Swan, a missionary of the highest standing with long experience of life and work in Angola, and a good knowledge of both Portuguese and the native languages, to visit this part of the country and make a thorough enquiry. His book (*The Slavery of To-day*), published by Pickering and Inglis in August, 1909, is a very serious confirmation of all the worst reports that have from time to time filtered through to the public, of the inhuman treatment of the weaker races of this vast district, by white men.

Mr. Swan received from practically all the missionaries stationed in Angola a statement of greatest importance referring to this matter, which was published in the *Times* of June 22nd, 1909, and reads as follows :—

“SIR,—It will, I am sure, be of interest to many of your numerous readers to know that in October last (1908) I left Lisbon for Angola, Portuguese Africa, with the object of visiting the different mission stations in the province, and of procuring missionary and native testimony on the slave trade. As the very unfair statement that ‘the missionaries were afraid to speak out on this question lest it should injure their work’ has been repeatedly made, and as I knew this to be untrue, I was anxious to prove it.

“I have brought back with me a statement, which has been signed by all the missionaries I was able to reach in the limited time at my disposal. They

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represent one English and two American societies.
The statement is as follows :—

““(1) That natives have been bought and sold during the whole of this period (the time he has been acquainted with the affairs of the province is mentioned by each one who signs), and still continue to be bought and sold, though less openly in recent years. After the war of 1902 such purchased natives were required to be placed under regular contracts, but I have never found that they understood anything of the legal nature of these contracts, nor of the terms of their implied agreement.

““(2) That many of these purchased natives have been exported, and still continue to be exported, to the islands of S. Thomé and Principe under the so-called “contract” system, but I have never met any of them who understood the terms of the said “contract,” the nature of the work they are expected to do, the period of time they are expected to serve, nor any conditions under which they may hope to return to their native lands.

““(3) That I have never known a single case in which a native has voluntarily gone as a “contracted” servant to the islands, and, what is more, they always speak of the possibility of being sent to S. Thomé with the utmost dread.

““(4) That I have never known one of these exported natives to be repatriated, and it is always taken for granted that all natives so exported are henceforth dead to all their relations and connections with the mainland.”

“Seeing these men are in such close and constant contact with the natives and understand their language thoroughly, they are competent to bear testimony as

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no others possibly can. Quite a number of them have been connected with the colony for from ten to twenty-seven years.

"Besides making the foregoing statement, the missionaries supplied me with scores of cases, giving - the names of the whites and blacks implicated, places, dates, etc.

"A full list of these has been handed to the Foreign Office, in the hope that the Government will be able to induce the Portuguese authorities to take thorough and immediate steps to put down this disgraceful traffic.

"In considering this question, all feeling against the Portuguese, as such, must be put aside ; for the struggle is not against the Portuguese, but against the unjust system of depriving men and women of their rights as human beings, and using them, as we use animals, for our own convenience or pecuniary ends. No man or Government has the right to deprive men of their liberty, take them forcibly away from their homes, break up their family life, and, either never allow them to return, or put them into a position or even bring them into such a condition that they cannot or do not desire to return.

"My own connection with the colony extends over twenty-three years, but in no one day previously have I seen so many indications that the awful traffic goes on unabated as I saw during my first day's journey from the coast in October last. The awful mixture of rum bottles, shackles, and bleaching bones was enough to make one sick at heart. There was also the emaciated body of a young lad who had been left to die that morning ; there he lay with the shackles for his feet and hands, and the stick with which he had

helped himself along to his unknown future, till his weary limbs refused to move, and the spirit took its flight. My men picked up ninety-two shackles for legs, arms, or neck, without ever leaving the path to look for them ; most of these were comparatively new, and a very great many of them still contained the sap of the wood. Can any proof be more positive that the trade is not a thing of the past, as is constantly affirmed ?

"The slaves themselves, carrying their shackles, were also met with in the caravans. These were photographed, and when those in charge were carrying letters to firms in Benguella and Catumbella the names and addresses were taken.

"I also got into contact with the slaves on the steamers *en route* for S. Thomé, and took down their own statements as to the way in which they were forcibly taken from their homes and handed to the whites in payment of 'crimes,' etc.

"A book giving my report in detail, with photographs, etc., is now in the hands of the publishers, Messrs. Pickering and Inglis, Glasgow, and will soon be presented to the public.

"I am, sir, yours respectfully,

"CHARLES A. SWAN."

The situation in Angola and S. Thomé is not unlike the position in the Southern States during the early part of the nineteenth century. On the one hand a brutal system of capture and supply of slave labour by a licensed agent ; on the other hand, a fairly humane treatment on some of the best estates : free labourers from Cape Verde and Cabinda working side

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by side with Angola slaves under precisely similar conditions. The Angola native, however, has up to recently never been repatriated, and his condition is that of a slave.

Publicity in Portugal and in all civilized countries is the first step to reform, and already there are signs in Portugal of an awakening public opinion on this subject, which till recently was not understood outside the limit of a small circle of planters and officials.

The "added chapter" refers at some length to the experiment in connection with Mozambique labour. A further explanation comes to hand on the eve of publishing, which I wish in fairness to acknowledge. It is based on the explanation that some of the labourers were recruited definitely for *three* years. As this is contrary to the official regulations of 1908, page 158 (1), I regret that I cannot accept or print it.

December, 1909.

Labour in Portuguese West Africa

INTRODUCTION

IN the autumn of 1908 I went to the Portuguese colonies of Angola, S. Thomé, and Principe with my friend Mr. Joseph Burtt, with a desire to obtain on behalf of the English cocoa makers, reliable and up-to-date information as to the labour conditions on the cocoa estates of the above-named islands.

The islands of S. Thomé and Principe are under one governor with head-quarters in S. Thomé. The Government returns are not separately published, and "S. Thomé" will be often used in this statement to include both islands. It may be generally understood, that in the matter of population and exports the relation of the islands is as ten to one.

England is not the largest cocoa consuming country in the world, and at no time has more than one-third of the cocoa from S. Thomé been

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shipped to this country. America, Germany, France, England, Holland, and Switzerland, in the order given, are the great cocoa consuming nations; S. Thomé at the present time produces about one-sixth of the world's supply.¹

The cocoa of S. Thomé is of good average quality—not the finest in the world, but useful to the manufacturer because of the excellence and great regularity of its preparation. The cocoa is not distinguishable from some of the good South American varieties. In price, it has during the last ten years ranked equal to similar qualities of South American cocoa.

In a few words I recall the sequence of events that led up to our recent visit. In the year 1901 the attention of Cadbury Brothers, Ltd., was first called to the unsatisfactory labour conditions on the cocoa estates in the Portuguese African colonies by somewhat indefinite rumours, and in the following year by more circumstantial evidence from a private individual. In the spring of 1903 my firm sent me to Lisbon to investigate the subject. Here the Association of Planters practically denied all charges of cruelty and oppression, and asked us as business friends to send out and make our own investigations, if we had any further doubts on the subject. The Minister of Marine and Colonies, Senhor Gorjão, made light of the matter, and assured me that the abuses were trivial and unavoidable, and

¹ See table, p. 31.

such as still existed would be removed by a new law, known as the Labour Decree of January 29, 1903. I had in Lisbon on this occasion conversation with many persons directly and indirectly connected with the African colonies, and was quite convinced of the urgent need for reform.

I was particularly fortunate in being able to consult the late Sir Martin Gosselin, then British Minister to Portugal: in 1889-90 he had acted as British representative at the Brussels Conference, and his name will always be honoured as one of the truest and wisest counsellors in all matters connected with African slavery. At the suggestion of the British Minister, a year was allowed to elapse, during which time we hoped to hear that the promised reforms had been carried out, but all enquiry proving unsatisfactory, we prepared at once for the next step. Sir Martin Gosselin considered that an independent enquiry would be most helpful, and encouraged us to undertake this in accordance with the invitation of the planters.

It seemed advisable, at this point, in order to avoid misunderstanding in Portugal, to widen the basis of enquiry beyond that of a single private firm, and some of the large cocoa makers of England, America, and Germany were asked to join us in a commission of investigation as suggested by the Portuguese planters themselves on the occasion of my first interview. Our friends, Messrs. Fry of Bristol, Rowntree of York, and Stollwerck of Cologne, readily agreed

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to give us their full assistance, and have supported us in all subsequent action. A large American firm approached did not, much to our regret, see their way at that time to interest themselves in the subject.

For an enquiry of this nature, among foreigners in a distant colony, relying mostly on private hospitality, and in which the inquirer is always open to the charge of being a business spy, it seemed desirable to seek the assistance of a private individual, rather than anyone with former knowledge of, or connection with the cocoa business. Mr. Joseph Burtt offered his services, and for several months lived in Portugal studying the language : he has many friends in that country and in the colonies, and except on one occasion his integrity and fairness have never been challenged. In November, 1907, a few of the planters in Lisbon issued broadcast a lengthy document containing the wildest charges against the integrity of Mr. Burtt, and the motives of the British cocoa makers. At a meeting held shortly afterwards in Lisbon, at which Mr. Burtt and I were present, the personal charges were disproved and withdrawn, and other statements, as incorrect as ridiculous, consigned wholesale to oblivion. I am glad to say that, with this trifling exception, our relations with many of the owners and producers in S. Thomé have been and continue to be friendly.

Mr. Burtt left England in June, 1905, and spent six

months in S. Thomé and Principe: the following year he continued his investigations in Angola, visiting all the coast towns, and taking a long journey to the far interior in the company of Dr. W. Claude Horton of Birmingham: their report is reprinted at the end of this book.¹ Mr. Burtt returned to England by way of Cape Colony and the Transvaal in April 1907, in order to study the subject of the contract labour from the Portuguese colony on the East coast.

From the time of our first connection with the subject, we have been in close touch with the British Foreign Office, and they have been advised from time to time of every step taken. At their request we abstained from all controversy in the Press till such time as they could suitably present Mr. Burtt's report to the Portuguese Government. Owing to the absence of Senhor Ayres de Ornellas, Colonial Minister, in Africa, this was not possible till the end of the year 1907. In the meantime the African section of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce met and published broadcast in the Press a resolution suggesting action to the British cocoa makers. This was not sent in the first place to the parties primarily concerned, and no opportunity was offered for personal explanation before the terms of the resolution were published in the Portuguese papers, causing annoyance and national bad feeling. Under these circumstances the Foreign Office in

¹ See Appendix A.

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London relieved us from any further restrictions with regard to the public or Press, and at our request a meeting of the whole Council of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce was held on October 21, 1907, when the first statement of the policy of the British cocoa makers was publicly made, and a vote of confidence passed by the Chamber.¹

The report of Mr. Burtt and Dr. Horton was presented in November, 1907, by the British Minister in Lisbon, the Hon. Sir Francis H. Villiers, K.C.M.G., to the Portuguese Government; and by Mr. Burtt and myself to a representative committee of the estate proprietors of S. Thomé on November 28. Our first conference in Lisbon lasted eight hours, and subsequent meetings were held: a statement² was made on behalf of the English cocoa makers, and the estate proprietors published a lengthy defence and reply.³ The main issue of Mr. Burtt's report, fixing the chief blame for the labour conditions in the islands on the illegal and brutal system of collecting labour in Angola was not challenged.

The Colonial Minister, Senhor Ayres de Ornellas, with whom we had two interviews, was perfectly frank, and fully understood the grounds of the charge against the present labour system: further, his knowledge of the East coast of Africa and association with English people enabled him to

¹ See Appendix B.

² See Appendix C.

³ See Appendix D.

easily realize the essential differences of Portuguese rule on either coast, and the deep-rooted indignation of the British race at any plausible labour scheme that was used to cloak an actual slavery. He authorized the publication in England of the following statement :—

“The Government intends at once to make a thorough investigation of the whole subject in Angola, with the intention of replacing the present irresponsible recruiting agents by a proper Government system, as far as possible on the lines employed with success in Mozambique.”

Also

“The system of recruiting will be such that it will also serve as a means of repatriation, and make it practicable for the native to return to his home in the interior.”

We left Lisbon convinced that Senhor Ornellas' public and private utterances on the subject were those of a man honestly determined on reform. In less than three months the tragedy in the royal household took place, and the Government of Senhor Franco was dissolved—the promises of Senhor Ornellas were accepted by his successor in the Colonial Office, Vice-Admiral Augusto de Castilho, in a slightly modified form.

With this information before them, my friends in England agreed to wait one more year to see the result of the promised reforms. As the investiga-

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tions of myself and Mr. Burtt, and those of Mr. Charles A. Swan, showed that the Portuguese Government had taken no adequate steps to remedy the evils, my firm and the two British and one German firm associated with us decided to make no further purchases of S. Thomé cocoa, and a statement to this effect¹ was issued to the Press in March, 1909, immediately after my return from Africa.

At all times, and especially during the last year, the course taken has subjected the cocoa makers to attacks from the Press and other quarters: when enquiries have been manifestly prompted by ignorance of fact or honest indignation, they have always been answered with courtesy by my firm.

The presenting of this report is the last stage of a most carefully considered line of action. Seeing that it is impossible to obtain reform except through the men who direct the colonial policy of Portugal and the capitalists who administer the estates in the islands, we have from the first appealed to headquarters in Lisbon and to the national authority of our own Foreign Office.

The British Government has approached this subject in an earnest spirit, and will, I believe, continue to press home the need for reform. The Portuguese Government has by this time received the report of its commission on S. Thomé labour, and

¹ See Appendix J.

I hope will see the urgent necessity and wisdom of a radical change, not only in the labour laws, but in their administration. The capitalists of S. Thomé are prepared for new regulations that will shake the old system to its foundations; some are shrewd enough to see that by these changes alone will their future prosperity—one might almost say their future existence as cocoa planters—be secured.

Many schemes for reform have been discussed with the Portuguese, and while the report of their commission is still unpublished, I consider it unwise to give any opinion upon these.

I have on two occasions visited the cocoa plantations in the West Indies, and for some years have made a study of cocoa cultivation in other parts of the world; past experience has been drawn upon in making these notes. One could never fairly compare the conditions of free with those of contract labour; I think, however, it is fair to compare the labour conditions of the cocoa estates of S. Thomé and the West Indies, in both of which contract labour is so largely employed.

We have conducted every enquiry with a wish to do as full justice to the Portuguese as to the native races, and for this reason considered that it was essential to understand and speak the Portuguese language. Some of the natives have a slight knowledge of Portuguese, but I fully realize that to conduct an enquiry of the greatest value, the services of an efficient native interpreter would also

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be required, and in addition, great tact and patience, and a much longer residence in the islands than it was possible for me to arrange.

Neither I, nor any director or shareholder of my Company, nor, so far as I am aware, any member of the three firms who have assisted us, has any financial interest in Portugal or her colonies. We are, as cocoa makers, always ready to welcome new supplies from any part of the world.

Apart from other motives that influence our action, we have impressed upon the Portuguese that, as a mere matter of business, cocoa makers cannot afford to risk their reputation by buying raw material produced under such unsatisfactory conditions. Therefore from the lowest, as well as from the higher motives which the Portuguese are not incapable of realizing, it is essential that, without delay, a better state of things be speedily brought about.

S. THOMÉ AND PRINCIPE

IT has long been my wish to visit the cocoa estates of S. Thomé and Principe, and I was glad of the opportunity afforded by the turn of events which made it needful for a representative of the English cocoa firms to go out at the end of the year 1908 to learn what progress had been made in the Portuguese African Colonies, in accordance with the promises of the Colonial Minister in the previous year.

Our visit was limited to three weeks in S. Thomé and two days in Principe, but during that time we crossed the island of Principe, and visited estates on the north, east, and west of S. Thomé.

S. Thomé lies on the equator. The area of the two islands is about 400 square miles, of which about half is under actual cultivation.

PRINCIPE

Of Principe I have little to report which does not equally apply to S. Thomé, except with regard to the sleeping sickness. The island is much smaller than S. Thomé, and has about one-tenth of the population, cultivation, and trade. The rainfall is heavy, but not so great as in the wettest part of

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S. Thomé; there are no reliable statistics of rainfall in either island. With the exception of the central mountain peaks, the whole island is suitable for the cultivation of cocoa.

About one-third of the island is infested with a variety of the tsetse fly, *glossina palpalis*, which makes its home in the woods, seldom approaching human habitation. This fly feeds solely on blood: it bites indiscriminately animals and men, and is dangerous to the latter when it is infected by the microbe of sleeping sickness. In that case one bite may be enough to produce the lingering disease, which is almost always fatal. There is no fly in S. Thomé, although but ninety miles distant. A small percentage of the serviçais imported from Angola to S. Thomé are already infected with sleeping sickness, but in the absence of the fly there is no risk of infection being carried to others. Since the discovery by scientists less than ten years ago of the cause of sleeping sickness, the Principe doctor has given much attention to the subject, and a year ago the Government sent out a medical commission under Dr. Armidal Correa Mendes to specially study the disease in this island. The doctors consider that in so small an island there is a good chance of stamping out the sleeping sickness by entirely destroying the fly, and Dr. Mendes, whom we were glad to meet in S. Thomé, was going home to recommend various sanitary improvements to his Government, suggesting in addition that every

animal in Príncipe should be killed, with the exception of the mules and oxen, which should be placed under fly-screens. Knowing how terrible is the scourge of sleeping sickness in other parts of Africa, including some of our own colonies, one most earnestly hopes that the doctors will be successful in following up and exterminating the disease in this small island ; but it becomes a serious question whether, if this cannot be done, the Government should not suspend cultivation in some of the worst districts. Not only are healthy natives imported from Africa and the Cape Verde Islands, but the white managers and overseers in Príncipe also appear to be running an undue risk. Deaths among Europeans from this cause have been few, and the doctors do their work bravely and cheerfully despite the chance of daily infection.

The two largest properties in Príncipe are managed by men of the best stamp of colonists, and the presence of their wives in both cases gives an agreeable feeling of home life to the estates, not to be found in many other parts of the islands. The sustained energy and courage of these managers in such trying surroundings are inspiring : among other things, one was glad to learn that since Mr. Burtt's former visit the death-rate on one of these estates had been considerably reduced. On this property (Porto Real Oeste) Mr. Burtt has had the opportunity of inspecting all the books, and every chance of making a thorough investigation. The manager was, on the occasion of

our visit, erecting a new drying apparatus, which, while using more fuel, was not such a severe tax on the health of the attendants.

For reasons subsequently explained, I can give no recent mortality figures for the island, but I have every confidence in the statement of the doctor, that except for sleeping sickness, the health of the island is as good as S. Thomé; the death-rate is highest in the fly-infested districts, and lowest in the south, where on a few estates the birth-rate exceeds the death-rate. The present average mortality of Principe is about 120 per thousand.¹

S. THOMÉ

We landed in S. Thomé early on Saturday, October 24, and lost no time in calling upon the Acting Governor, Major Chaves e Mello; we were introduced by Senhor F. Marin, British Consular Agent, and cordially received. The Acting Governor excused himself from entering in any detail into the labour question because of his short experience in the islands, but we explained the purpose of our visit, and he assured us that at the Curador's² office and at the office of the Repatriation Fund we should obtain all the information required.

¹ Death-rate in Jamaica, year 1906-7, 26·2 per thousand.

" " Trinidad " 1907-8, 25.6 " "

² The Curador is the most important official in S. Thomé after the Governor. He acts for the Government as legal guardian of the servicos, examining their original contracts. He is responsible for

Calling at a later date at the office of Repatriation, we received from the officer in charge, Senhor Luis F. da Saude, every attention and the fullest replies to all enquiries. He showed us the actual receipt from the bank for the capital of the Repatriation Fund (which was on September 30th, 1908, 311 contos = £62,200), and the whole system of book-keeping, which appeared to us both simple and orderly; each estate was separately entered, and every labourer credited with his share of the fund. The subject of repatriation is referred to later in more detail (see p. 58).

Our interview with the Acting Curador, Senhor Arnaldo Vidal, on October 26th, though lasting two hours, produced little in the way of the concrete facts and definite figures, which were the purpose of our visit. Much of the time was spent in fervent defence of the planter, and a particular condemnation of the British cocoa makers and their agent, Mr. Burtt, for the part they had taken in investigating the question of S. Thomé labour, and arousing the bad feeling of the British public. We were constantly reminded that the Angola serviçal was only an ignorant bushman—*muito estupido*—unable to care for himself, who needed someone to constantly watch over every action in the first twelve months, and chiefly to make him work; that the best fortune that could all recontracting, and to him must be presented all complaints. He is always a Doctor of Laws.

befall him was to settle down to the regular life of a cocoa estate—no one expected him or his children ever to wish to change such an existence, where he had home and food, and care in sickness, and Christian baptism and burial, for the savagery of his former life.

Encouraged by the kind reception of the Acting Governor and our letter of introduction from the Colonial Secretary in Lisbon, stating that we should find everything open,¹ we prepared a series of questions upon the subject, asking the Curador in the first place for what seemed to us to be primary and essential statistics. To make this as simple as possible, we prepared tables in Portuguese for the use of the Curador, so that it was only needful to write in the figures.²

These tables were viewed with suspicion, and we were told that it might be beyond the power of the Curador to give figures for more than one year, and in that case we asked him to be so good as to fill in what he could. This he promised to do. We called

¹ See p. 75.

² These tables were ruled out for the five years, 1903, 1904, 1905, 1906, 1907, and were numbered 1 to 5, as under :

1. Population of S. Thomé and Principe.
2. Contracted labourers entering the island from Angola, Cabinda, Cape Verde Islands, other places.
3. Births in each island.
4. Deaths in each island.
5. Repatriation to places above mentioned.

We asked the Governor-General of Angola to give us the number of services leaving the Angola ports for the islands, and he sent to us through the British Consul the figures for 1906. It will be seen by the table on page 27 that the year selected shows a very low return.

three times before we left the island, but he was not at the office, and we left S. Thomé without receiving any figures. I wrote from Angola to the Acting Governor, stating that it was essential to me to have these figures to complete my report, but no reply of any kind has been received. The verbal information given by the Curador is detailed later in this report. The Portuguese Government is notoriously weak in recording statistics, but it is a legitimate inference to draw from the whole attitude of the Curador and his refusal to supply figures, that either he was ashamed of the state of things that the publication of such figures would reveal, or that he wished to render our enquiry abortive.

The hotel accommodation in the town of S. Thomé is, to say the least, indifferent. We therefore more fully appreciated the generosity of Senhor Levy of Lisbon, in placing at our service, rooms at his town establishment during our stay in the island. His manager, Senhor S. de Figueiredo e Faro, proved to be the kindest of hosts, and we profited greatly by our intercourse with the members of the staff, who not only provided good company and excellent fare at their own table, but spared no pains to serve us in every way.

The estates in S. Thomé are much larger than in the West Indies : some own over twenty miles of private railway¹ with locomotives, covering the out-

¹ In the islands are 1500 kilometres of Decauville railway, mostly supplied from Germany, at an initial cost of £200 per k.

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lying parts of the property and leading to central drying stations, and thence to a private pier, where the cocoa is shipped on vessels belonging to the estate owner and transferred direct to the ocean-going liners at the town. Each estate has, beside the head-quarters, one or more dependencias, each of which is completely equipped and under the management of a white overseer and staff. We visited fifteen of these central and branch establishments, and thank the owners for this privilege, and the managers for their generous reception and for their patient attention and replies to our many inquiries.

For the convenience of reference I have divided my report upon S. Thomé into sub-headings.

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Climate and Health.

The climate of S. Thomé varies considerably in different parts of the island and at different times of the year. June to September are dry and fine; October to February are very wet months, when sickness is prevalent on the low-lying estates and especially in the town. The Peak of S. Thomé rises to a height of 6560 feet, and some of the higher estates dry all their cocoa by ovens owing to the constant showers and hanging mists; to the south-west of the island, within 200 feet of sea-level, the rainfall is so excessive and continuous that some estates have gone out of cultivation, as there was not sufficient sunshine to ripen the crops. To the north of the island, on the other hand, the cocoa suffers at times from insufficient rainfall, and on some properties all the drying is done, as in the West Indies, on trays in the sun.

One would expect to find the highest death-rate on the wettest estates, but this is certainly not always the case; the south-west districts are the most

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healthy of all, and one of the driest and best-managed estates at the north of the island records a heavy mortality. There are no reliable returns of the rainfall of the island.

The general appearance of the island is very similar to that of the West Indian Islands, Grenada, St. Lucia, or Dominica ; cultivation nearly to the water's edge, a strip of fairly level country varying in width, and then the deep valleys running up into the central mountain group ; the highest peaks constantly veiled in cloud or hanging mist. The conditions of life in these valleys are also very similar, never oppressively hot (seldom exceeding 80°) at a little elevation from the sea, and not unhealthy for a European with reasonable working hours and suitable recreation and an opportunity of a change in a temperate climate every two or three years. From a somewhat limited and practical rather than scientific experience, I should say without hesitation that the mosquito and sundry other insect pests are much more trying in the West Indies than in S. Thomé. There are valleys in the West Indian Islands that have been abandoned by Europeans because of a bad health record ; I know of no such case in S. Thomé, though the death-rate on some properties is notoriously high.

The town, small and unimportant, is badly built and unhealthy—sanitation is of a most elementary nature.

The Portuguese, used to a broiling sun in his own

country, should stand the Equatorial climate better than the Britisher in the West Indies, but with the exception of the well-paid managers, I see no evidence that this is the fact. The death-rate in the town and among the "overseer" class on the estates is high—this appears to be largely the result of excessive working hours, the absence of recreation, and insufficient attention to the prevention of disease.

Original Settlers: "Natives of S. Thomé."

The island of S. Thomé was discovered by the Portuguese in the fifteenth century, and the history of its colonization begins some years later. I do not doubt that, as was the custom of the period, a priest accompanied the first colonists, and the first altar was erected on the beach. Even at this date there are sufficient evidences of the splendid missionary enterprise of those early days. In the town of S. Thomé there are two great churches still used by a few worshippers, and within a radius of two miles are the ruins of six more, one bearing the date of 1621. Marble pillars, roofing and glazing tiles, church and altar furniture all must have been brought in the early days from Portugal at enormous expense, and one stands amazed at the glorious conception of these first pioneers, splendidly backed as they must have been by the powerful rulers of Portugal.

The first colonists consisted of men and women

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from Brazil, from Gaboon, two hundred miles to the east on the African coast, and from the Guinea coast to the north, all of whom had received promise of privileges granted in perpetuity in acknowledgment of their enterprise in colonizing the new land. At the same time convicts from Portugal were granted their freedom on the same terms. It is hardly to be expected that such a mixture of nationalities in an uncivilized island would produce anything but a decadent race. The "native of S. Thomé," as he is now called, is a brown-skinned individual, insolent, lazy, and lawless. His women, some of whom, I am told are possessed of a certain dusky comeliness, are notoriously loose in character. The "natives" live a miserable life, squatting on land in various parts of the island, a great number living near the town. They are not enumerated, they pay no taxes or rates, they are not subject to military service, they look down upon the servical population as slaves, and are fond of repeating on all occasions their motto, "The native of S. Thomé does not work." If you meet them on a muddy road (a foot of mud on a S. Thomé road is usual in the wet season) and there is a dry path only wide enough for one person, you must walk in the mud. An incident is told of a doctor who was called up at night to see one of the race a few miles from the town; no one would hold the rein of his horse, and he was reminded that "a native of S. Thomé does not work."

The British Consular Agent gives eight thousand as the number of these "natives" in the island; the figure is at best an estimate, and I have heard higher and lower figures in other quarters. He states that they occupy about one-eighth of the land in the island, and grow bananas and a few untidy crops, including a little cocoa; this is supplemented by nightly raids on the trees of the large estates.

The Portuguese colonists appear to recognize these people as an unavoidable pest; I have never seen a more degraded race.

The Angolares.

Two hundred years ago the *Amador*, carrying slaves from Angola to Brazil, was wrecked upon the Seven Brothers rocks, lying seven miles off the south-east of S. Thomé. Several of the strongest men swam ashore; they raided the native settlements for women and formed villages of their own along the shore. They still live as a separate and independent race, numbering about three thousand, acting as fishermen and canoemen for the whole community. They appear to be on very good terms with the estate managers, who respect their rights, and sometimes also employ them to do the very rough work of clearing the forest.

European etc., population.

The European population consists chiefly of Portuguese numbering about 2500 (Marin). Of

these 2000 at least are overseers and gangers on the estates. Of this class about half come from the unlettered peasant class of Portugal; others have been small farmers used to hard work in the vineyard or olive slopes in their native land. A still smaller number, who are mostly employed in the town or as book-keepers on the estates, come from the cities of Lisbon and Oporto.

Among the manager class are enough men of sterling character and good education to set a high standard of administration throughout the island. They do not, however, appear to have developed the useful working combination that would help in solving many of the common problems of sickness and disease, nor do they appear to receive from their Government much assistance in meeting these problems.¹ Very few owners or managers in S. Thomé have visited Angola, and their knowledge of that colony is consequently small.

The islands are greatly inferior to our own cocoa-growing colonies in the fact that few women from home have yet faced the life of the squalid town or lonely roça. I believe I am correct in saying that there are not more than thirty white ladies resident in the two islands, or about one per cent of the total white population. I am glad to believe that this condition of things is changing for the better, and see no reason why many more should not follow the brave example of the charming young mistress of one

¹ The sentence refers only to the island of S. Thomé.

S. Thomé roça¹ or others one could name in both islands, and come out to share with their husbands on the healthy upland estates the cares and pleasures of this beautiful land. The presence of the manager's wife has the effect of bringing cheerfulness to the community, and such subjects as food, water supply and sanitation, naturally receive, for her sake, more careful attention.

Two estates are owned and partly staffed by Belgians, there are four Englishmen at the Cable Station whose term of service does not exceed eighteen months, and the town has one German store and agency: these, with possibly a few Spaniards and Italians, complete, I believe, the record of the European population.

Some years ago an experiment was made in introducing Chinese labour, but it was a complete failure and has not been repeated. A few stores in the town and villages are owned by Chinese, and a very few others remain still in various parts of the island. So far as I know there are no Americans. A few estates are owned by free men of colour: one was pointed out to me as belonging to an ex-serviçal, but on enquiry, it was found that he came originally from a French colony. I know of no instance where a contract labourer from Angola is living as a free man in S. Thomé upon his own property.

The rest of the population are contract labourers.

¹ Pronounce ç as double s in floss.

Labourers from Cape Verde Islands.

The inhabitants of these arid and rocky Portuguese islands live at all times in great poverty. The coaling station at St. Vincent finds regular work for a considerable number; the sea has good fish, but agriculture in every island, with the prospect of perhaps two rainfalls in the year, is most precarious. To these people S. Thomé offers a most desirable market for labour, and some hundreds of men and women go every year under a two years' contract, almost always electing to return at the end of that time for a few months' rest in their own homes, before they take up a further term of contract.

They are self-willed and of an uncertain temper, and some planters do not care to employ them, but there is always a market for their labour, and the arrangement appears to work to the mutual advantage of both Cape Verde and S. Thomé.

The labourers from the Cape Verde Islands and Cabinda form a very small proportion of the total servical population.

Labourers from Cabinda.

Cabinda is a small coast territory north of the Congo under the Government of Portugal. The men come to S. Thomé without their women, on short terms of contract. Good-natured and muscular and fond of the sea, they make excellent boatmen and dock hands, but definitely object to agricultural work

They have all the bearing of free men, working well when well treated, but being ready with a reply when they think it needful to stand up for their rights. A common saying, used to express to an overseer the occasional need for rest and food, is "*Sacco vazio, naō fica em pé*" (An empty sack will not stand erect).

Labourers from Angola.

The Benguella and Lunda provinces of the colony of Angola have for many years supplied the servícaes, upon whose labours the success of the S. Thomé plantations depends. In former years some came from still further, over the frontier of the Congo State. No complete Government figures being available,¹ I can only with safety say that an average of nearly 4000 men and women, and perhaps 500 children, are shipped yearly by the agents of the S. Thomé owners who live in the Angola ports.

On arrival in the islands, they are allotted to the various estates by a "Local Board of Labour and Emi-

¹ Servícaes entering the Islands from Angola.

1901 . . .	4,752 *
1902 . . .	3,499 †
1903 . . .	2,564 †
1904 . . .	2,967 †
1905 . . .	4,264 †
1906 . . .	2,721 †
1907 . . .	3,452 §
1908 . . .	5,886 §

* Taken from British Diplomatic and Consular Report, No. 2922.

† Figures supplied to J. Burtt by British Consul.

‡ The only figures supplied on application to the Governor-General of Angola.

§ Extracted from the Official Bulletin of S. Thomé, published monthly.

|| Only eight months' figures available, four months added at the same rate.

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gration," composed of the Curador (Chairman), Chief of Health Department, Director of Public Works, one of the local managers of the National Colonial Bank, and three more members chosen by the central committee of estate owners in Lisbon, from resident proprietors or managers of estates in S. Thomé. Each estate sends to the Curador a request for the number of labourers required, and a long list of these hangs on the door of his office. On July 1, 1908, 272 estate owners who returned themselves as employing 28,024 serviçaes, put down requests totalling 14,376; many of these carry forward into the total old unsatisfied requests dating earlier than January 1, 1908. The ten largest employers on this list declare their workpeople as numbering 4802, 2600, 2369, 905, 900, 732, 700, 700, 700, 458. A responsible manager looking over the list assured us that in some instances it was very misleading, and the totals above the actual fact. A large number on the list declare an even hundred or fifty, which also leads one to suppose that these are generally rough estimates rather than exact figures. The list is incomplete, and does not include some estates where the birth-rate approximates or exceeds the death-rate. Every manager complains of the insufficient supply of labour, and on some properties there is evidence of this in the appearance of the crops and cultivation.

The Government officials declined to supply me with any of the vital statistics of the island of

S. Thomé,¹ but as I had opportunity of totalling the long list of employees on the 272 estates, placed for the benefit of the public on the door of the Curador's office, I am in a position to form my own estimate of the total serviçal population. This list includes all the large estates of the two islands. I cannot say if it includes the children, but it is to the interest of the owners, when applying for new labourers, to declare as high a population as possible.

Serviçal population on estates applying for additional labourers (as per estate owners' returns)	28,024
Add 10 per cent (estimated) for serviçaes on estates not applying for addi- tional labourers	2,802
Add children under twelve years of age, (though probably included in above figures) say 25 per cent of the adult population	7,005
TOTAL (being the outside figure for the popula- tion of serviçaes in the two islands	<u>37,831</u>

¹ See new Regulations 125, 127, 129 on pages 171, 172.

Labourers from Mozambique.¹

In the last half of the year 1908 the first trial shipment of contracted labourers from the East African colonies of Portugal was made to S. Thomé ; each month subsequently the mail steamer has brought a further consignment, so that already there must be a few hundred in the island. The experiment so far is limited to men on a one year contract. If it is successful, it is hoped before long that women will also come. The managers speak very hopefully of the experiment, saying that the general fitness and intelligence of the Mozambique "boy" make him worth the extra cost. On arrival they seem at once able to do useful work, and lose no time in sickness or acclimatization. A passenger on one of the mail ships asked them if they understood the terms of their contract, and found there was no doubt upon this point. He further asked, "Do you intend to stay more than one year?" The reply was, "That depends entirely on my treatment and pay."

Prisoners of War, etc.

Occasionally one comes across men of very different build from the Angola serviçal type, and it is generally found that they have been taken prisoners in the punitive expeditions against rebel tribes in both north and south of Angola, and more recently in Portuguese Guinea. These men do not work

¹ For Regulations of Service (1908) see Appendix I. Also see "An Added Chapter."

under contract, nor are they in any way under the protection of the Curador's department. I have no means of estimating their number.

In various parts of the islands one meets a few free men who have come across from the English or French colonies as tradesmen. They seldom settle on an estate, and form an unimportant part of the population.

Cocoa Cultivation.

The industry of the two islands has been for twenty years almost exclusively the cultivation of cocoa.¹ Formerly sugar and coffee were largely grown, and still there is a small export of coffee of a superior quality, and a little quinine from the hills. Palm kernels and cocoa-nuts are found on some estates; a few enterprising managers are planting rubber.

Cocoa is cultivated in many tropical countries, the most important areas of production being in South America and the adjacent islands. The following are the exports in tons for the year 1907 :—

South America	59,294
West Indies	40,462
S. Thomé and Principe	24,193
British West Africa	10,474
Ceylon	4,700
Sundry	9,144
Total	<u>148,267</u> tons.

¹ Exports of cocoa from S. Thomé and Principe (tons) :—

1902.	1903.	1904.	1905.	1906.	1907.
17,619	... 22,050	... 20,496	... 25,669	... 24,619	... 24,193

(All the above figures taken from the *Gordian*, Hamburg.)

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It is no doubt a fact that from the high fertility of the volcanic soil, the cheapness of labour, and the energy and enterprise of the Portuguese, S. Thomé is to-day the wealthiest island of its kind in the world. The total area is about 370 square miles, of which about 175 square miles (111,040 acres) are under actual cultivation. The approximate output is as follows :—

In S. Thomé under cultivation . . .	111,040 acres.
In Principe (add one-tenth) . . .	11,104 ,,
Total under cultivation in both islands	<u>122,144 acres.</u>
Total estimated output (both islands), 1908 . . .	27,000 tons.
Per acre , , .	486.3 lbs. = 4.34 cwts.

The output of a good estate considerably exceeds this gross figure, and a gentleman with long experience gives the following figures as the return from properties of the first class :—

In one square kilometre . . .	60,000 trees.
Yield from ditto . . .	90,000 kilograms.

Or—

242 trees per acre.

3.3 lbs. per tree.

801 lbs. per acre.

The cultivation of cocoa is one of the healthiest of all tropical industries. The work is carried on almost entirely in the shade; the crop is harvested over many months, and there is no need for overtime for some weeks in the year as on a sugar estate, where the ripe canes must be rushed to the mills.

The work of fermenting and drying the cocoa is also leisurely and agreeable, the latter task being generally allotted to mothers of young children, or to the older people who may be physically unfit for the long day in the woods (see also "Machinery"). The report of one large estate which carefully classifies its labour shows that just over half the total working hours in the cocoa are spent on "weeding."

For planting the cocoa tree a hole is dug two or three feet deep, all stones carefully removed, and partly refilled with leaf mould and broken pods: this forms the hardest work of the estate. There appear to be no other pests than rats, to destroy which fox terriers are employed. The trees are very free from parasitic growth, but with exceptions appear to be shortlived and are replaced in fifteen or twenty years. Except in the wet south-west districts there are two crops in the year. Cocoa grows well up to 1500 feet above the sea and is planted in a few favoured districts as high as 2500 feet.

The Government has no Botanical station, and the success of the island cocoa industry is entirely due to private enterprise.

The estates suffer much from robbery at the hands of the "Natives." The Government polices the town and a few roads leading to the country, but does not attempt to guard the immense boundaries of the estates: on a few of these near the town are stake and barbed wire fences, the majority are quite open. One large estate keeps ten regular guards at

It would be beyond the legitimate range of this report to go into detail of prices and profit, but I think it is fair to the owners to state that very large profits appear to be made only on those estates which are most favourably situated, well managed, and well equipped with labour-saving machinery of the most up-to-date type. It has often been the case that the owner can trace his success to long years of strenuous personal labour in the islands. A few, perhaps a dozen, of the earlier colonists and their friends have made large fortunes, but in an average year there are but few estates which pay more than a reasonable percentage upon the capital. Some properties are still heavily mortgaged, and money cannot be borrowed except at high rates of interest. There must be a large number of men in Portugal, or still living in S. Thomé, who have gained little from their residence in the islands beyond a living wage and an impaired constitution.

Buildings and Machinery.

The roça is an establishment generally in the form of a hollow square, varying in design according to the level of the land, but often constructed with the hospital on the highest ground. The manager's house is in a central position, flanked by buildings which contain the quarters for the white overseers, the stores and shop ; and at the far end from the hospital,

stables for the mules or draught oxen. The quarters for the labourers occupy a considerable space ; these are of various design, but generally constructed of timber. The single men and women live in separate barracks ; the married people in separate quarters measuring from 10 feet to 13 feet square. Many of the better estates now build with concrete or brick, and roof with heavy tiles ; a verandah, when added, forms a useful shelter from sun and rain. Altogether the accommodation is equal, and in some cases superior, to what I have seen provided for contract labour on the West Indian cocoa and sugar estates.

The hollow square is completed by sheds covering trays for drying cocoa in the sun, large buildings containing drying-stoves, buildings for sorting, bagging, and storing, as well as incidental processes and trades such as carpenter, blacksmith, etc. The centre square is often very large, in some cases over an acre in extent and neatly paved ; a pigeon cote forms a usual centre ornament. The manager can survey the whole from the verandah of his house, and a loud-voiced bell tolls out the hours of labour and rest.

Women share the work of the men in the plantations. In Angola, as in many parts of Africa, the cultivation of the soil is the work allotted to the woman, while the man hunts and fishes and fights for his tribe. I have more than once heard stated a fact that in Europe would be difficult to under-

stand, that the women in S. Thomé generally much prefer the life of the woods to that of the household. In the former they have regular hours and hard work, which are preferred to the confinement and lighter if more incessant duties of the house.

The only industrial process on the S. Thomé estates to which any exception can be taken is that of artificial drying, and this applies to certain estates only. In some districts there is ample sunshine all the year round to enable this process to be carried on, as in other parts of the world, by spreading the cocoa on trays in the open; but there are extraordinary variations of climate and rainfall in this small island, and on many estates ovens (*estufas*) are a necessity. The usual and simplest pattern is a metal or tiled tray extending the length of a large covered shed, and about 22 feet wide; under this tray run flues from a wood furnace. When these buildings are constructed with top or cross ventilation, "drying" becomes the popular work on the roça, allotted to women, and men who may be slightly lame or otherwise unfitted for the long day in the woods. One of the pleasantest memories of my visit to S. Thomé is the sight of men and girls working on the drying-tray on a wet day. Before our inspection, the cadence of a song could be heard through the lattice jalousies across the open yard, and on entering we saw the double row of workers laughingly plying their long rakes on the thin layer of drying cocoa beans. The leader sang

the solo to a native song, and every few moments the whole assembly joined in the double refrain with great heartiness and merriment. The heat on the tray would be perhaps as high as 150° , but so free and ample was the ventilation that there was no sign of any distress; the temperature of the room probably did not exceed 80° .

There are, however, ovens so constructed that the man works in a closed chamber at a temperature of at least 110° F., and this must be exceedingly detrimental to a race so susceptible to sudden change of climate. It is also proved to be unnecessary, and will, I hope, soon become obsolete. Mechanical dryers do not appear to find favour.

Mention has already been made of the light railway which is used on all the large estates. The usual system employed is to construct the whole track on a very slight but uniform grade, in and out among the valleys up to the highest point of the property. A locomotive or mules will take the empty wagons in the morning up to the highest point, and as they are filled they are run down on the hand brake to the central station. In this way, not only is the staff much reduced, but the workmen are saved much laborious transport work. Some estates have the advantage of direct communication with the coast by private railway; others are bound to use the disgraceful roads which are all the Government provides; one estate keeps fifty mules and forty

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oxen in constant use for transport of finished cocoa.
The only metalled road in the island runs to the
small town of Trinidade, six miles inland.

Working Hours—Sunday Labour.

Article 21 of the Decree of 1880 states :

"The labourers shall work $9\frac{1}{2}$ hours per day, but not more than $5\frac{1}{2}$ consecutive hours, nor shall their first meal be later than 9 a.m."

The working hours on some of the best estates¹ are as follows :—

5 a.m. bell tolls for getting up.

5.30 a.m., muster on the square opposite the manager's house and departure for plantation. (Work $2\frac{1}{2}$ hours.)

8 to 9 a.m., breakfast, often returning to the house. (Work 2 hours.)

11 a.m. to 1 p.m., rest and dinner in the plantation. (Work 5 hours.)

5.30 p.m., collect grass for animals, wood for fuel, etc.; reach home 6 p.m. Supper.

8. p.m., evening muster opposite manager's house.

9 p.m., bell tolls for lights out.

Total working hours $9\frac{1}{2}$ per day.

¹ The hours vary on different estates.

On Sunday the day begins at the same hour, and the labourers return at about eleven o'clock; some time is then spent in tidying up the premises and washing, and by three o'clock all are dressed in their clean clothes, and prepare the feast of the week, which includes fruits specially collected from the woods, and a little wine bought at the estate shop. The total hours, about sixty-two per week, while not being excessive for agricultural work in a temperate climate, exhaust all the available strength of the men and women in this hot climate, and leave them no hours of daylight of their own, except on Sunday afternoon.

As the owner can never contract as many labourers as he requires for the proper working of the estate, and as at times the crops are hanging on the trees, ripening faster than they can be picked, there is always the excuse for working the staff up to the extreme limit of its strength. There can be no doubt that the man who suffers most is the white overseer, without whom¹ no gang is allowed to work in the plantation: the sickness and death-rate among this class is high. At present the labourers have no change and no recreation except an occasional dance. Only on one estate did I see any system of allotments²: with more time in the week and the whole of Sunday free, every man would be glad to

¹ In some cases the men from the Cape Verde Islands are allowed to work without a white overseer.

² Possibly some others exist.

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cultivate a small patch of ground and supply himself with fresh vegetables as a relish to the somewhat monotonous rations.

I do not understand why the hours of labour are given as "TEN" on the contract form (see Appendix E, page 151), but it is quite clear from this form that each manager has power to work his staff seventy hours per week and every day in the year. The former law made exceptions of the "days consecrated by religion," but in practice this term has long ceased to include the Sabbath, and its application to any other days in the year seems entirely left to the discretion of the manager.

If the contract were for one year instead of five, the *serviçal* might better stand the present hours of incessant labour, but now the effect is a dull monotony that generally appears to suppress individuality and pleasure in life and work.

Sunday labour is not uncommon in Portugal or in some English colonies, but I am convinced that, apart altogether from questions of religion, it can be proved in any climate that one rest day in the week pays the employer.

Pay.

The minimum rate fixed by law is 2500 reis¹ for a man, and 1800 reis for a woman per month (10s. and 7s. 3d.); at the end of each five years the pay must be raised 10 per cent. Board, food, clothing, and

¹ I have throughout counted 1000 reis (1 milrei) as equal to 4s. The Portuguese exchange varies, and is as a rule a little below this figure.

medical attendance are free. "Extra payments" for superior work are common, and on some estates are paid to many of the responsible labourers. By direction of the 1903 law, two-fifths only of the above sum is paid direct, the other three-fifths go to the labourers' credit in the repatriation fund. If he elects to stay with his master, the law states that the sum standing to his credit in the repatriation fund is to be repaid to him by instalments in four years, and at the same time a new repatriation fund is accumulating to his credit by the regular deduction of three-fifths of his wages, payable at the end of the second period of five years, or to his heirs if he die. After the fifth year the actual monthly payment fixed by law cannot be less than 11s. per man and 8s. per woman, and a further repatriation fund is accumulating at the same time. (See Appendix D [3] page 148.)

A man and wife therefore receive during the first five years while in regular work about 7s. per month to spend on extra luxuries. Judging from the stock kept in the shops, this is generally spent on wine and spirit (to a definitely limited extent), cooking utensils, extra clothing, beads, or cheap jewellery for the children, lamps and candles, pipes and matches, combs, looking-glasses and the like.

When a man is in the hospital or off work his pay is stopped.

Wages in S. Thome are low, even considering that all necessary wants are supplied. Under a free con-

tracting system, the Government would have to fix a minimum that would attract a sufficient number of willing *serviças*.

Pay-day comes on the first Sunday in the month. On November 1st, 1908, we were staying at Ponta Furada, on the west coast of S. Thomé, as the guests of Senhor Marin, British Consular Agent. This estate is not large, or in any sense a show place ; it is leasehold, with but a few years' lease to run. The buildings and equipment are therefore somewhat out of repair ; there is, however, a humane atmosphere, a better health record, and a little less of the dreary formality than one finds on most of the large *roças*.

At four o'clock the labourers lined up, and passed one by one through the pay-office. The money, all in copper,¹ was handed to each by an overseer. Senhor Marin stood by, and at the conclusion ten or twelve men and women returned with a complaint, that during the absence in Europe of their master, they had been underpaid by a small sum. The books were turned up and the arrears adjusted as simply as the claim was made. Senhor Marin makes a practice of leaving the actual payment to an overseer, so that the labourer may feel more free to make all appeals direct to himself. In this and many other ways is evidenced the desire of the owner to maintain the confidence and goodwill of his people.

The next act of importance is to count the coppers into little piles of ten, and when the shop has been

¹ See p. 163.

visited the balance is locked securely in the box, which holds the treasure of each labourer. The feast is then prepared, and a wild dance follows, to the light of a few guttering candles, the banging of a tom-tom, and much submerged strains of a concertina. On such an occasion, extra time is readily granted, and the dancing continues incessantly for many hours.

Shops.

The estate owner has been sometimes accused of robbing his serviçais by means of a shop on his own premises and a shameless truck system. I am convinced that, generally speaking, such an accusation is unjust. Sometimes it is three miles from the house to the estate boundary, and often very much farther to the nearest store or village, and in these cases any other system is impossible. In the case of the whole of the western part of the island, an almost impassable range of mountains 6,500 feet high, separates the lonely estates from civilization, and all traffic is by sea; on the eastern side the labourers are at the mercy of the Chinese storekeeper, ever ready to trade cheap spirit or rubbishy stores for stolen cocoa or the earnings of the serviçal.

I have inspected the stock and seen the present shop system at work, and, generally speaking, believe it probable that on the good estates the articles are traded at about cost price. It must be remembered that almost all clothes or manufactured goods cost fifty per cent more in Lisbon than in London, and to

this has to be added the enormous shipping rates of a rapacious steamship company that holds a Government monopoly, also the many incidental costs of packing and transit to the interior of a far distant country. A further check on abuse exists on those estates which send their produce by road, in the fact that each week, often every day, numbers of serviçaes go to town in charge of cocoa for the wharves and bring up stores; and again throughout the island there are settlements of Angolares, who trade fish with the roças, frequently taking their pay in stores from the shop.

Liquor.

The Portuguese are not spirit drinkers, as is generally the English colonist in West Africa. They take wine in moderation at the two heavy meals of the day, but seldom drink at night. The serviçaes in S. Thomé are only supplied with spirit (good rum or brandy) in small quantities on special occasions, and excess only takes place when in the neighbourhood of a small village or store; in that case the labourer will too often spend his monthly pay in a heavy carouse on the coarse Dutch gin supplied by the Chinese shopkeeper.

Food and Clothing.

Food is given three times a day, largely consisting of rice and beans, with a flavouring of palm oil, dried meat, and cured fish. On some estates it is

usual to provide fresh meat about once in the week. The following was copied from the store sheet at Pedroma plantation :—

TABLE OF DAILY RATIONS OF LABOURERS

For each labourer (cooked weight).

Breakfast.	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Rice . . 180 gram} \\ \text{Fish (dried) 160 ,} \end{array} \right.$	Always accompanied by salt and palm oil.
Lunch.	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Rice . . 225 ,} \\ \text{Beans . . 160 ,} \\ \text{Meat . . 180 ,} \\ \text{(dried from U.S.A.)} \end{array} \right.$	
Dinner.	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Rice . . 250 ,} \\ \text{Meat (dried) 250 ,} \end{array} \right.$	

At six o'clock roll-call three-tenths of a litre of coffee with brandy.

Rations for Hospital and Convalescents.

Breakfast.	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Rice . . 150 gram} \\ \text{Meat (dried) 150 ,} \end{array} \right.$	Always accompanied by salt, palm oil, bananas, or biscuits.
Lunch.	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Rice . . 225 ,} \\ \text{Meat (dried) 200 ,} \end{array} \right.$	
Dinner.	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Rice . . 250 ,} \\ \text{Meat (dried) 200 ,} \end{array} \right.$	

Wheat cake, 200 gram twice a day.

Doctor's orders relative to patients' food, when they need diet, are to be strictly complied with.

Note.—Total cooked food 1405 gram = 2·8 lbs. The coffee and brandy is not usual at other estates.—(W. A. C.).

There is never any apparent lack of quantity, though the absence of fresh vegetables is notice-

able. Although the Pedroma fare is considered generous, I am able to state that nowhere have I seen labourers showing sign of lack of nourishment: a manager made the remark that he had often seen good food thrown aside that would form a meal for a Portuguese peasant. Knowing a little of the hard grind and wretched fare of many of the poorer classes in Portugal, I am sure this may be quite true.

Most estates are fairly well planted with fruits, mangoes, pine-apples, sappho, paw paw, avocado pears, and bananas, the last two being specially abundant. These the labourer may freely pick, and each evening he carries something upon his bundle of wood wherewith to flavour the evening meal.

On the largest roças the cooking is done at a central kitchen; smaller roças allow the women to do their own cooking, which no doubt they prefer. A good compromise is sometimes adopted of cooking the morning meal in bulk and allowing the labourers in the leisure of the evening to prepare their rations to their own taste. The mid-day meal is often carried out into the plantation.

Clothing is supplied twice a year, and consists largely of Portuguese cottons, made up into useful garments. Good taste is shown in the colours and design chosen, blues and white in great variety of stripe and pattern being always more popular than the gaudy cottons common in some other parts of Africa.

The women are self-respecting and almost always clean and tidy in habit and person. Often the

owner will buy in Europe articles of jewellery and clothing as a special present on his return to the women and children of the estate.

Religion.

I should have omitted this heading but for the statement often made by the supporters of the Angola serviçal system, that by ransoming the man from his condition of spiritual darkness in Africa, and placing him within the reach of the priest on the estate in S. Thomé, you confer upon him the incomparable blessing of religion in this life and salvation for the life to come. I told my friends that to offer a man religion is no sufficient compensation for slavery. Many owners and managers are not churchgoers, and these estates have no form of service of any kind. Others receive a yearly visit from the priest, who baptizes the children, (giving them Christian names), and as many of the adults as wish to undergo the rite.

On an old map of Principe the estates with chapels attached are marked δ , but I believe none of these chapels are now used. On the occasional visit of the priest, services are held in the open air, attended by black and white. On one well-managed estate in S. Thomé, belonging to a lady in Lisbon of noted piety, a roomy cocoa-shed is fitted up at one end with a chapel. The priest attends weekly, and has a regular list of communicants. These bear round their necks images of the Virgin or other

religious tokens, and I fancied I could see in their faces the sign of a new interest in life, beyond the dull round of work and food and sleep. In this and some other roças, the dead are buried in consecrated ground by the priest. With the possible exception of this one estate, marriage is not a religious ceremony, though man and wife are said to be generally true to each other.

The black man is always by nature fond of music and singing, and this forms a simple and very successful branch of the teaching at both Catholic and Protestant Missions in Africa. On no estate in S. Thomé did I come across a trace of any such teaching.

Schools and Education.

It is said that most of the male "natives of S. Thomé" can read and write, their forefathers having passed down from generation to generation the teaching of the priests.

There are now twelve small schools in the island, five in and near the town, and seven in the villages, where the priests teach a few of the brighter native boys. It is unusual for children born on the roças to receive any "book" education; in one case, however, we found seven of the more intelligent boys attending the village school. On the estates the best boys are picked out, and trained as tradesmen, blacksmiths, carpenters, etc.

Though possibly not within the strict range of

this report, I welcome the opportunity of saying a word in sincere praise of the town band, and its founder and conductor Senhor George. Senhor George, long resident in the island, discovered the latent talent in the native, and has for many years patiently trained his men, all "natives of S. Thomé," till they have now reached a standard of perfection seldom surpassed in Europe. The Government has justly rewarded Senhor George with an honorary captaincy in the army. The band carried off the first prize in their class at the Paris Exhibition. Twice a week the visitor may listen to the splendid rendering of first-class music, and prove for himself the pluck of a Portuguese, working single-handed on a most uphill task, and the ability of the black man when trained in one of the highest arts.

Punishments and Complaints.

Corporal punishment is forbidden by law, but fines appear to be allowable for any offence. The contract form states¹ :—

"That the labourer . . . undertakes . . . to indemnify him (*his master*) from losses and injuries caused to him by wrong-doing, mistakes or carelessness."

I have no means of saying how far a master would push the rights which he certainly possesses by this "*Employees' Liability*" Clause; it, however, seems clear that if a mule costing £60 be seriously lamed by the carelessness of an attendant, his wages for a lifetime would be insufficient to wipe out the debt.

¹ See Appendix E (4), p. 151.

In the matter of punishments, each manager is bound to be, to a considerable degree, a law unto himself. The large roças, which are frequently visited by the Curador, are so extensive that he can never see all the employees at once, and the distant estates and dependencias are too far away from the town for anything but the most occasional passing call.

With such plenary powers, and situated so far from the reach of authority, there would be no guarantee that even a British manager would not resort to corporal punishment. The Portuguese certainly makes use of his right to impose fines; I should like to be able to enter the spirit of the black man and say which was preferable. Bearing in mind the great value of the health and goodwill of the serviçal, I cannot believe that serious flogging often takes place.

We asked the Curador, on the occasion of our visit, how often he received complaints; he replied, very seldom, and his experience was, that generally it could be proved that the man, and not the master, was to blame; in that case he, the Curador, administered punishment and sent the man home. From the fewness of the complaints, out of a population of nearly forty thousand serviçaes, it would appear that the present generation has arrived at that condition of mind which

". . . makes us rather bear the ills we have,
Than fly to others that we know not of."

I know that in past years numerous complaints were made to a former Curador, and that he acted as a wholesome restraint upon irregularities.

Fugitives.

When the islands were in the state of undeveloped cultivation, desertions were common, and fugitives could find shelter in the forest at an altitude suitable for the cultivation of small crops. All such land, except in the far away western rainy district, is now allotted to estates, and no one could build a hut unobserved except in the higher mountain regions, where the forest is dense and grows nothing that would maintain life.

The manager has a right to apply for assistance from the Curador in searching for fugitives. If the number exceeds ten the Curador is bound to send assistance.

The Curador, while declining to give us full figures, stated that in one year he had only two appeals for assistance, and these from small estates. Though in both cases the number was less than ten, he sent some of his servants, and had no difficulty in inducing the labourers to return. In more serious cases, the Curador may call in the help of the military.

At the present time it is known that a few small camps exist in the wilder parts of the mountains, but it is generally found that after a few weeks of semi-starvation, the runaways are glad to offer themselves again for service.

Children—Births.

The children on all estates are well treated, and seem to have a happy existence in the crèche under the care of one or more black nurses, or playing around the steps leading to the verandah of the manager's house. Here during the day many a friendly word or pat on the head, or biscuit from his table falls to their lot, and his pleasure in their presence appears to be the nearest thing to compensation to the manager, for the absence of his own children in a distant land.

After the age of ten they begin to do light work for the estate, and at fourteen may contract themselves as labourers;¹ from this time till the age of twenty-one, all money earned is paid to the parents. We were informed that in some cases no contract was made, the youth or man working on simple agreement for a monthly wage.

The Curador knew of no case where a youth born on the estates had elected to work elsewhere, and seemed surprised at the question, for as he explained, it was not likely that the parents would willingly release him, as they would lose his wages up to the age of twenty-one.

Seeing clearly that it is to the interest of all parties that children should multiply, it is the more difficult to understand the fact that the birth-rate is exceedingly small. One must also remember that

¹ Same form used as for parents (see Appendix E).

in Angola, as in most parts of Africa, children are the wealth and honour of parents, and barrenness a woman's greatest disgrace: possibly in captivity a different standard exists. Without expert medical evidence, it is perhaps unprofitable to attempt to give explanations of this unnatural state of things.

On a very few roças only does the birth-rate approximate or exceed the death-rate, and these are not the largest properties under the most careful management. On one large roça only, with a unique position and climate, the children under twelve number fifty per cent. of the adult population. Five other large estates average one in five. I estimate *the total number of children under twelve years of age* at less than twenty-five per cent. of the total adult servíçal population, or one child to every two couples.

The Curador is now compiling a table of births and deaths among the serviçaes in the island, and has issued a circular as follows:—

*The Office of the Curador of Labourers of the Colonies
of S. Thomé, August 8, 1908.*

DEAR SIR,

For the convenience of this office, please forward here, as soon as possible, a numerical report of the annual births on your property, from January 1, 1901, to December 31, 1907.

The Delegate of the Crown Procurator,
and Curador's Office,
ARNALDO D'ALMEIDA VIDAL.

A similar circular was issued *re* deaths.

Sickness and Death.

There being no official vital figures available, I am obliged to estimate the death-rate of S. Thomé. The population is increasing, and I have supposed that this increase is represented by the births in the island, 7,006 in twelve years surviving (see estimate on page 29). Of the young children who come from Angola, I do not know how many survive, out of the estimate of 500 per year (see page 27). The Cape Verde and Cabinda labourers who come and go frequently, do not materially affect the death-rate.

Four thousand labourers per year come from Angola and do not return. This shows a death-rate of over 100 per thousand on a population of 37,832 (see page 29). This estimate is supported by actual figures on some large estates.

A glance through the Curador's books shows very few new emigrants exceeding thirty years of age, and several under twenty; the average is about twenty-four years. The fact that the majority of the population are in the prime of life should lessen the death-rate.¹

I should however wish, if possible, to trace the cause of this high death-rate. African negroes and coolie emigrants from the East thrive and multiply in Trinidad, Jamaica, and British Guiana, the latter often starting cocoa plantations of their own at the end of their contract, rather than return to their native land.

¹ See death-rate in Jamaica and Trinidad, p. 14.

We find, however, in S. Thomé, that without a constant stream of emigration, the entire servical population from Angola would disappear in ten years. Alongside you have for comparison a half-starved degraded native race, numbering about eight thousand, and steadily increasing; and a smaller and much more virile community of fishermen, who in the course of three centuries have increased from about 100 to 3000 souls.

I again repeat that S. Thomé is, I believe, with the exception of the town, as salubrious as a West Indian island, certainly much more so than many parts of Africa.

The cause of the heavy death-rate is not want of food or clothing. It is not the humidity of the climate or neglect in housing, for in the wettest and most out-of-the-way estates, where there is least margin of profit for expenditure on special barracks and conveniences, you often find the lowest death-rate.

The most prevalent diseases appear to be anaemia, dysentery, pneumonia, fevers, tetanus. In some districts one hears of geophagy.¹

One is compelled to believe that the high death-rate is largely due to the circumstances under which the labour is obtained, and the mental and physical

¹ *The practice of eating a soft kind of earth is common in some parts of Africa, and is known as geophagy; doctors are not agreed whether this is merely a habit or the result of a disease. Some estates are troubled with it in S. Thomé, and not others, though the earth is found in most parts of the island.*

condition of the contracted labourer. The statement is made over and over again, that the first few months on the roça are the most deadly, and that some new arrivals never recover from their low state of body and mind. A few of these are already infected with sleeping sickness, but in the vast Benguela district, from which a large majority of the serviçaes now come, the disease is not prevalent. We saw very few cases in any S. Thomé hospital.

The highest death-rates are generally found on the largest roças, and I am bound to conclude that the close quarters in which three hundred or more individuals are crowded, are prejudicial to health.

There is often an entire absence of any sanitary arrangements, and the precincts of the roça must frequently be infested with disease germs. Senhor Marin, at some trouble and expense to himself, has carried a four-inch water pipe from a river, under considerable pressure, right into the labourers' quarters for sanitary purposes ; this has, I am sure, much to do with the good health of his estate. Such flushing facilities are very unusual.

Many of the roças have excellent hospitals and dispensaries, and the separate wards for men and women are airy and comfortable ; separate blocks are always provided for infectious disease and sometimes for maternity cases. Doctors attend at regular intervals, or when sent for in cases of urgency. On

one large estate a hospital was in course of erection to contain 120 beds ; materials were of the best, and there was no sparing of skilled labour ; sixty-five white artisans were at work. In that case, hospital accommodation was provided for more than 10 per cent of the servical population, and this proportion is usual. However, on the occasion of our visit to S. Thomé, no hospital inspected was much more than half full.

Excellent as are the preparations to deal with sickness, one can but think it might be expedient to spend a larger sum on the discovery and removal of the cause of infection, and in providing modern sanitation. I can believe that it might pay the owner to more frequently burn down the wooden barracks long used by the serviçaes, or to clear away all vegetation for a considerable distance from the outside wall of the compound.

To investigate fully both high mortality and low birth-rate, the services of an expert commission of medical men and bacteriologists would appear to be urgently needed.

A death-rate of 10 per cent means on a large estate at least one funeral every week, and this among people of a sensitive and superstitious race must have a depressing effect, reacting in a direct way on the spirits and general health of the people.

Repatriation (and see page 15).

Contract labour, entailing long absence from the home of the labourer, will appear to many in the light of a makeshift, and less desirable than settled free labour. In our own colonies, however, we have found the need for such a system, and thousands of men and women go from India yearly to work on the cocoa and sugar estates of the West Indies. At the conclusion of their contracts, they either return to India with considerable sums of money, or continue to serve as free men, or settle in the islands on small Government grants, as cocoa or cane farmers. The last class are numerous.

More than fifty thousand men go annually to the Transvaal mines from the Portuguese colony of Mozambique on short contracts of six or twelve months at £3 per month, and all found.

These men return to Portuguese territory with new clothes and money averaging about £10. Force is not needed to compel them to labour; every village of the interior echoes with the glamour of the mines, and young boys offer themselves for contract at the good wages as soon as they are old enough to work.

As the Portuguese press has often recently made comparisons of the labour conditions of S. Thomé and the Transvaal (always to the discredit of the latter), I have added a few figures from the most

recent issue of the Annual Report of the Transvaal Native Affairs Department (see Appendix H).

Perhaps no agriculture will stand the expense of labour at the Transvaal rate; mining being always, and properly so, a highly paid industry, but I believe that, as in the West Indies, a sufficient wage can be offered to ensure a good supply of voluntary labour on the pleasanter work of cocoa and sugar planting, provided that repatriation is guaranteed.

From the early days of the cocoa industry in S. Thomé, the law has included clauses regulating the repatriation of the labourer at the end of his five years' contract: these clauses have been operative in the case of the *serviçal* from Cape Verde and Cabinda, but up to the end of 1908 practically no Angolan ever returned.¹ The explanation given by planters and Government alike has always been that the *serviçal*, satisfied with his good food and regular life in S. Thomé, and remembering the life of hazard in his own country, chooses the certainties of hard work with home and food and clothing, rather than freedom with its many risks. This has doubtless in many cases been fact. Parts of the interior of Angola are given over to the slave trader, and men in authority admit that these are totally beyond the reach of law or civilized government.

But the case of an abortive repatriation law can never be quite explained away by such reasoning.

¹ For further particulars and record of returning labourers in December 1908, see pages 81 and 85.

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On the one hand, you have Cape Verdians, serving on a two years' contract and returning almost without exception to their native land; on the other, many times the number of Angolans, not one of whom is supposed to have even expressed a wish to see his native country again.

It is not possible to compare Angola with the Cape Verde Islands without noting that the man from the latter, when landed back at the port, is never more than one day's walk or sail from his home. The Angolan, when landed on the mainland, may be anything up to one hundred days from his native country, and under existing circumstances would run great risks in the journey. It appears to be an essential duty of the Government to remove these risks and insure the safety of transit, and until such provision is made, repatriation, in its true meaning, will not be an accomplished fact.

A new (1908) regulation provides that a form of contract may be made out in Angola to cover the service of a man and his wife and family. I was unable to find in Angola that this regulation was in force, all evidence going to prove that men and women are now shipped quite separately.

Marriages in the islands are arranged by the estate manager as he thinks suitable, and constantly a man and woman will be united, whose terms of service expire at different dates: in such a case, repatriation would mean the breaking of family ties. I pointed out in S. Thomé how inadequate was the law in this

respect, and how unjustly the path to freedom was beset with pitfalls.

The cost of a new labourer from Angola is £30; up to the present these have always served for a lifetime. The cost of recontracting in S. Thomé is only 1 milrei (4s.) per head on the estate, or 500 reis (2s.) at the Curador's office in town. This expense comes once in five years. Thus, if a manager has one hundred men and women who have served for five years, it will cost him £3000 to replace them and £20 to keep them. In the former case he will have all the cost and trouble of educating one hundred raw recruits. If the relentless death-rate be taken into account, the cost of the new labourer, who so often sickens in his first months of service, is still further increased, and we get a comparative statement something like the following :—

100 newly contracted serviçaes at £30 each . . .	£ s. d.	3000 0 0	Recontracting 100 serviçaes on the estate, each 4s. . .	£ s. d.	20 0 0
15 extra to provide for the extra death rate on first year at £30 each . . .		450 0 0	Extra wages to above, 10 per cent on one year . . .		300 0 0
Cost of repatriating 100 serviçaes at £2 each . . .		200 0 0	Balance in favour of recontracting, per 100 . . .		3623 5 0
115 new hands: wages for six months while learning, and of no more use than cost of food and lodging, 115 at 5s. each . . .		293 5 0			
		<hr/> <u>£3943 5 0</u>			<hr/> <u>£3943 5 0</u>

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I admit that I do not consider the above gives a complete or final picture of the whole situation, because it does not take into account what I know will be the certain benefits of repatriation ; without repatriation the cost of the new labourer must always increase as the areas of supply get smaller. But it does show something of the financial side of the question, that will weigh specially heavily with the short-sighted manager, who is considering his annual report to his directors, and is not much concerned with the future fate of the estate, or the shareholders of another generation. It shows also, I think, that it needs a strong Government, more concerned with the welfare of its people and the future of its colonies, than with the profits of a ring of shareholders, to grasp the whole situation, and put the labour question on a just foundation.

Speaking of the subject of repatriation, the S. Thomé Curador informed us, that at a recent enquiry held by him on a large estate, out of three hundred seen, only five made a remark of any kind, and these wished to be transferred to another estate ; the rest were recontracted. The form used in this case is similar to the form printed in Appendix F, except that it speaks of the vaccination of the serviçal, and for the regulation of January 29, 1903, it substitutes April 23, 1908 (corrected in ink). It is sufficiently clear that it is not usual to separately address each serviçal on the subject, and I am aware that the staff of the Curador's office is totally

inadequate for this. Anyone with experience of the timidity of the Angola native will know, that the only way to get at the inner feelings of such a man is to take him aside and patiently question him upon the subject.

I informed the Governor that I particularly wished to be present on one of these occasions of recontracting, but received no assistance from the Curador in that direction, and had no means of following his movements, though during our stay in the Island he was frequently out of town employed on this work. I had, however, the opportunity of speaking with a man who was present on such an occasion. He informed me that in this case about fifty men and women were drawn up in line before the estate manager, the Curador, and two policemen: there was no interpreter: the Curador asked in Portuguese, "Are you content with your Master? Do you wish to enter into a further contract?" A few replied "Yes, Sir," automatically; the majority said nothing, and the occasion was over.

Two managers of large estates in S. Thomé said to me independently and without hesitation, that the present system was one that it was impossible to support: it was bad for commerce and unjust to humanity: it must be at once superseded as much for the sake of S. Thomé as for the welfare of Angola. I wish I could state that Government officials had also committed themselves to such statements, but I partly appreciate their jealousy of a foreigner, and

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believe that feelings on this subject often run higher than guarded words would lead one to suppose.

During our visit to Africa, the first definite cases¹ of repatriation have been recorded: in these cases, the payment from the Repatriation Fund was not made regularly according to the law, and no guarantee was given for a safe passage to the hinterland; nevertheless I heartily welcome this first step towards repatriation. Some estate managers are willing and anxious for the change, and the Government will be to blame if the small step already taken does not lead to healthy advance.

¹ See pp. 81 and 85.

ANGOLA

ANGOLA is a vast territory, entirely tropical, more than twice the area of Spain and Portugal, lying between latitudes 6 and 17 south. It is bounded on the north and north-east by the Belgian Congo. The Cabinda enclave, a small coast strip, lies on the northern bank of the River Congo.

Angola has no great river like the Congo with endless tributaries, and is consequently much less rich in agriculture than many parts of tropical Africa. In a few places, as in the barren district around Mossamedes, an industrious cultivator, by means of windmills and wells, has made a piece of the wilderness into a garden; but the only districts really suited by nature for tropical agriculture are the lands of the Lunda province in the north-east, which forms part of the Congo basin, and a narrow belt along the Quanza River and some smaller streams, where irrigation is possible without any great outlay. The rainfall is irregular, but generally speaking small. The well-watered plain near Bihé, and the district around Humpata in the south, are suitable for cereals and cattle-rearing.

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The settlement of the native as a cultivator of cocoa on his own land in Angola is hardly possible, very little accessible land in that region being fit to grow cocoa, or for any culture employing labour on a large scale. Therefore it seems reasonable that employment in other Portuguese colonies should be offered to the native under proper regulations, and within accepted standards of right and freedom.

There are some valuable minerals, but these are not worked: neglected and forgotten in the bush, a few old shafts and ancient mining machinery await the arrival of a new discoverer.

The climate is generally healthy because of the absence of bad swamps; vast tracts of high land rise from near the sea-coast to an altitude varying from 3000 to 5000 feet.

The coast towns, some of which were settled as early as 1575 by the Portuguese, lie at long distances apart, with generally no other means of communication than the steamer of the *Empreza National*, which links up the six or seven trade centres of eleven hundred miles of coast-line. The administration is vested in a Governor-General residing at Loanda; the country is divided into five districts, each under the direction of a local governor—Loanda, Congo, Lunda, Benguella, and Mossamedes. The capital city of Loanda¹ of all places on the west coast of

¹ "Now, say what you please, Loanda is not only the finest, but the only, city in West Africa."—*West African Studies*, Mary H. Kingsley, p. 284.

Africa is the one most nearly approaching the European idea of a metropolis; but its glories are of the past, and to-day there are many deserted buildings in its fine avenues and streets, and it is more important as the seat of government than as an outlet for the trade of the interior. It possesses a fine hospital on an open site.

In the northern coast towns of Cabinda, and at Ambriz and Ambrizette I am informed that the same state of stagnation exists.

South of Loanda are the towns of Novo Redondo, Benguella, and Mossamedes, the last named exporting cattle from the pastures of the high plateau in the south of the colony. Benguella and Novo Redondo, especially the former, have been for generations the outlets for the trade of the far interior; they are about equal distance from Bihé. Both these towns, and Catumbela at the foot of the mountains, twelve miles from Benguella, have been built with the definite and manifest purpose of slaving.

In each are to be found vast establishments covering sometimes as much as six acres, the whole of the space between four streets. On one side are the house and stores and offices of the white man; on the other three sides a high wall with a shed roof on the inside, forming a shelter for the gang of slaves. The wall is high enough to be quite unclimbable, and the only entrance to the great quadrangle is through the white man's quarters. Smaller yards of similar construction, arranged to keep back the

gaze of the outside world, run back from the main streets. Many of these compounds are now quite deserted, some form the resting - place of free natives who come down to trade; others are still used for their original purpose by slave agencies for collecting and supplying the local market and that of S. Thomé with black labour. No stranger could at any time estimate the population hidden away inside these vast compounds. Pushing aside the heavy gates, I have myself seen seventy-five to one hundred men and women, carriers from the interior, camping on a space of not more than 800 square yards. In certain streets there are at times large groups of free carriers, who bring down rubber and wax, and who appear to be on very good terms with the local traders.

In the three towns—Benguella, Catumbela, and Novo Redondo—there appear to be about six large firms who deal in “contract labourers,” obtaining them through their own agents in the interior or direct from private individuals.¹ The head of one of these houses was recently elevated to the peerage.

¹ The 1908 Labour Decree provides that (*chap. 4, Art. 23*) “there shall be one or two agents at each agency (Benguella, Catumbela, and a branch at Novo Redondo). The agent must take out a licence and deposit the sum of 500 milreis (£100). Agent pays 500 reis (2s.) for each labourer contracted, but never less than 50 milreis (£1) in the year. Stamp tax for each agency, 5 milreis (£1). In compensation the agents shall be exempt from income tax.”

“*Art. 25.* The salaries of the agents and the allowances for expenses will always be in proportion to the number of labourers contracted and shipped. Salaries will be fixed and paid by the S. Thomé Board of Emigration.”

At one time Loanda had similar compounds, and a few ruins still exist; now Novo Redondo and Benguella supply "contract labourers" to the traders at both Loanda and Mossamedes at a recognized tariff.

One factor that has rooted the slave trade in the ports supplied by Bihé has been the special characteristic of the tribes in that district: peaceable, trustful, lacking the passion for war and revenge, they have become an easy prey to the slaver.

It is noticeable that some of the warlike tribes in the Loanda and Congo districts, and the Cunhamas, Cumatos, and Mandombes of the south, are never exploited to supply any labour market, although they are within a reasonable distance from the coast. In Angola there are at least twenty different tribes and five different languages, subdivided into dialects. It is the district east from Benguella and Novo Redondo on the coast, right back to the British and Congo frontiers, and the Lunda district in the north-east, that have supplied the slave markets of Brazil in the past, and still send down a stream of perhaps five thousand souls per annum to supply the labour markets of Angola, S. Thomé, and Principe.¹

There is every evidence that in the past, Portugal poured money and strength into her ancient colony

¹ A great many slaves went out from Loanda in the old days; and even in comparatively recent years many from the Lunda tribe were brought out by this route, but mostly for local plantations.

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of Angola. Priests led the van in their passion for the conversion of the African to the Catholic faith, soldiers and explorers threw away their lives in reckless pursuit of wealth and glory; but to-day Angola has become a byword, and the despair of rapidly changing colonial ministers and governors-general. In recent years there have been repeated military expeditions against rebel tribes in both north and south, but immense tracts of country still remain ungoverned and unexplored.

The present Governor-General, Captain H. M. de Paiva Conceiro, is widely respected by all interested in the colony for his personal devotion to its best interests. He is carrying out the clauses of the 1906 Brussels Convention referring to spirits, regardless of the fierce opposition and abuse of Angola sugar planters, who have in the past made fortunes in rum, and paid wages in the same currency. I am inclined to believe that he may be much more dissatisfied with the eternal labour question than he cares to admit to a foreigner.

In Angola there are six Protestant missionary societies—three English, two American, and one Swiss—the first station being opened about the year 1884. They have stations in four out of the five administrative districts. I was unfortunate in not meeting any missionary with experience in the Benguella or Lunda districts, and therefore my report contains no evidence from this source.

The State-aided Roman Catholic Mission has, I

believe, some stations in every district, and its priests must often be well qualified to give evidence on the subject. In the course of a long interview with an old priest in Lisbon nearly six years ago, I well remember his earnest concern for the welfare of the Angola native races that he knew so well, and his despair for any check of the endless cruelty that accompanied the capture of the labourer in Angola and his retention in S. Thomé. Statements of fact that had come under his personal notice convinced me more than any other evidence of the reality of the wrong, and of the deep-rooted affection of the native in S. Thomé for the land of his birth, even after many years of absence. I shall not forget the remark of the priest, that in his despair he sometimes wished that the islands might be swallowed in the depths of the sea and all their trouble ended.

Many have written and spoken of the conditions on the mainland; none with more authority than the late Heli Chatelain,¹ whose knowledge of native life and language in the Benguella district was perhaps unrivalled. He says:—²

“Slavery and its unavoidable concomitant, the slave-trade, are practised all over Angola. It is based on three facts:

“(1) The right of the uncle to dispose of his nephews and nieces as merchandise;

¹ At one time American consular agent at Loanda, and more recently head of the “Mission Philafricane” at Lincoln, Caconda, Angola. Died in 1908 in Switzerland.

² *Folk Tales of Angola*. Heli Chatelain. Boston, U.S.A., 1894.

"(2) The absence of penitentiaries;

"(3) War. If a man is unable to pay a debt, or has committed a crime, and cannot otherwise pay the fine, he is sold himself, or he sells his nephew or niece in his stead. Prisoners of war are reduced to slavery and sold to the highest bidder. As a rule the slaves of uncivilized natives are not worked hard, nor cruelly treated, and they have a chance to redeem themselves. Civilized masters and the plantation owners, on the contrary, make the slave's life a galling one, and sometimes beat him to death."

I believe that every word of at least the first part of Mr. Chatelain's statement is as true to-day as when it was written; Mr. Burtt's report confirms it in detail in the year 1906; and I find it admitted on every hand by the Portuguese themselves, that in Angola there has been little or no change. The excuse commonly given is that it is the custom of one tribe to go to war with another and capture slaves, and that the white agent in buying these men and selling them to S. Thomé "redeems" them from a cruel slavery. A friend of mine has pointed out to me how exactly this specious excuse for a practice which cannot be defended on its merits, recalls the justification which the great Roman jurists give for the institution of slavery. They admit it is contrary to natural law, but defend the practice on the ground that historically it arose from the fact that victorious generals in primitive times "redeemed" their prisoners of war instead of putting them to death.

I deny the right of any individual under a civilized government to thus trade in human flesh ; nor is a contract made or confirmed on the coast with a man who has been driven across hundreds of miles of unknown country in a slave gang, and shackled at night to prevent his escape, the act of a freeman. Slavery in the interior of Angola among uncivilized tribes cannot be seriously brought forward as a justification for slavery under the flag of a European country.

A Portuguese born in Angola, now living in the Benguella district, and who seemed glad of the opportunity of relieving his mind on the subject, said :

“ Many of the younger generation consider the whole trade a disgrace, and that it should be entirely stopped.”

He added that most of these were young men who came out from home to fill the junior posts in the stores and on the estates, and they knew that they would be promptly “put into the street” if they dared openly to criticize some of the business methods of their masters.

The Official Bulletin of Angola shows a heavy financial loss on the administration of the colony. The population is unknown, but if this could be tabulated it would also show the annual drain on the colony caused by the incessant stream of labour to the islands—men, women, and unnumbered children who are yearly transhipped never to return, and the large number who die of neglect and brutal

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treatment in captivity and on the long marches to the coast.

There are also indirect evils, and the chief of these is the terrorism inspired in the whole population of the district. Travellers state that it is noticeable that villages no longer lie along the main tracks, but the natives retire into the wilder and more out-of-the-way parts of the country. Exactly the opposite condition is found in free countries, where the villages lie along the trade routes. This constant state of dread must be most prejudicial to trade and industry and the well-being of the native races, and will have its effect upon the general birth-rate.

The demoralizing traffic in slaves, yielding large profits, places the clean-handed trader at an unfair advantage with the slaver, who can afford to pay, if it suits his purpose, prices for rubber and wax not justified by market value. Thus the honest trader, who should be the backbone of the colony, has little inducement to go into the district.

VISIT TO ANGOLA, 1908

WE left S. Thomé on November 13th, and spent the last six weeks of the year in Angola. Senhor Ornellas, the Colonial Minister in Lisbon, in December 1907, had promised definite reforms,¹ and our object was to give an opportunity to the Government to prove that these had been carried out.

We called, on arrival in Loanda, on the Governor-General, Captain H. M. de Paiva Conceiro, handing him a letter of introduction from the Colonial Secretary in Lisbon, and showing him the personal letter² addressed to myself by the same gentleman, in which he states in English :—

“I duly received your kind letter, dated September 9th. . . . The Portuguese Government is endeavouring to fairly go through this question and make light wherever it may be required, and fears no substantial charges against her straightforward character. I am therefore greatly pleased to see you are going out . . . and beg to hand over to you letters of introduction to the governors of S. Thomé and Angola, in order to facilitate as much as they possibly can the hardships of your generous mission.”

¹ See p. 7.

² Dated October 5, 1908, and handed to me in Madeira.

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I had in my letter to the Colonial Secretary of September 9th stated that it was our special desire to see the whole process of contracting and re-contracting in Angola and S. Thomé, and the above courteous letter led me to suppose that this might, with the assistance of the officials on the spot, be accomplished. I stated to the Governor-General in Loanda that our whole time was at his service, and that my special desire was to give him, on behalf of the Government, the fullest opportunity of showing us what reforms had taken place in accordance with the promise of his chief in Lisbon a year ago.¹

A report in detail of the statements of the Governor-General at this interview with Mr. Burtt and myself, which took place by the Governor's request in the presence of the British Consul, is appended: it represents, as far as I know, the most recent official statement on the subject.

“LOANDA, November 19th, 1908.

“Governor-General Paiva Conceiro received William A. Cadbury and Joseph Burtt, introduced by Mr. H. G. Mackie, British Consul.

“The Governor-General stated as follows:—

1. He received us as private individuals, not officially, as we had no papers from our Government.²

¹ See p. 7.

² A request for such special introduction was made to the Foreign Office, but it was considered that it would be unnecessary.

2. We were free, as private individuals, to visit the courts where the *serviços* were contracted.
3. The Portuguese Government forbade slavery by law; we were at liberty to walk at will through the colony, and any case that we could bring, where the law had been broken, he would duly punish.
4. Angola was large—quite possibly breaches of the law sometimes occurred unknown by the Government: such irregularities had taken place in British colonies.
5. Recruiting was done by agents appointed by the Labour Bureau of S. Thomé. Over this his Government had no control.
6. Contracts made by the agents are presented on the coast to be confirmed. In no case is the Government responsible for the terms of the initial contract.¹
7. The new law of 1908 had made a few minor alterations, but in the main the whole system of contracting labour was just the same as last year.
8. I was at liberty to copy any figures that were already published—as I had no official introduction, he could give me no more information.”

I confess that our reception was somewhat more formal than anticipated, and scarcely in harmony

¹ Chapter V., Article 26, Labour Decree of 1908. “The contracts with labourers shall always be drawn up in the presence of the local authorities—either the Curadors, their delegates, or the administrative officials.”

with our cordial letter of introduction from Lisbon. In so far as the Governor was brief and business-like we had no cause to complain, but it appeared scarcely within the generally accepted notions of fair play to welcome and encourage the proposed visit of a business friend, four thousand miles away, and on his arrival to state that the Government, by whom the whole labour system is organized and carried out, will do nothing to facilitate open and straightforward investigation. Such was the upshot of the reply received—anything already published might be copied; anywhere we cared to go, we could go; anything we saw, we should see: beyond this, nothing.

We therefore found ourselves free for six weeks to visit some of the coast towns, nothing more than a few days' journey inland being possible in so short a time. We travelled as far south as Mossamedes, and the Governor of this province informed us that no serviçaes were now shipped from his port,¹ so that he was not in a position to give us any information. The Governor of Benguela was unwell and unable to receive visitors.

At Benguela we had two interviews with Commander Paula Cid; he received us freely and with a pleasant absence of ceremony. He was appointed in June, 1908, as a commission to thoroughly investigate the subject of S. Thomé labour, as promised by Senhor Ornellas six months previously. The delay

¹ In 1906 Mr. Burtt saw a shipment. (See Appendix A, p. 116.)

in the appointment was unfortunate, but one has but to recall the terrible tragedy in the royal household in February 1908, and the subsequent change of Ministry, and the new election which took place in May, to be able to appreciate the chaos in political affairs in Portugal during the first half of that year.

Commander Paula Cid, as past Governor of Cape Verde Islands, S. Thomé, and Benguela, is well qualified to form one of a commission to investigate a subject so immediately concerning Angola and S. Thomé; but if the finding of such a commission is to be treated as impartial evidence, it would also seem advisable that men should be sent out who would bring to bear upon the subject minds quite free from tradition or local prejudice. One greatly regrets that the Portuguese Government has missed the opportunity of appointing a strong commission to make a searching enquiry, *de novo*, into a matter so vitally affecting the national honour and the future prosperity of their West African colonies. At the same time I do not propose to condemn unheard the recommendations of the commissioner, which will doubtless have been placed in the hands of the Government in Lisbon before this narrative is published.

The Colonial Secretary, in his letter to me, dated October 5th, 1908, says :—

“ Commander Paula Cid has up to the present done excellent work, and judging from his capa-

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bilities, is likely to satisfactorily conduct his work and carry out his instructions to the bitter end with satisfactory results, however difficult and hard his task may be."

The Commissioner told us that his first duty was to report to his Government, and in the meantime he could not give us permission to publish any of his remarks or opinions on the subject beyond the following :—

"He had, while Governor of S. Thomé, instituted regulations that had put on a satisfactory basis the contract systems for labourers from Cape Verde and Cabinda; he desired to see a better system than that now regulating the supply of labour from Angola, and should present in Lisbon definite recommendations on the subject."

We hoped to gain our chief information from the officials at Benguela, but our visit to the Curador in that city was brief, and in the absence of *serviçaes*, produced but little first-hand evidence. The secondary evidence was significant. The Curador informed us that the whole of the *serviçal* business was in suspense, and therefore it was of course impossible to see any one contracted, or to form any opinion upon the vital subject of the real freedom of contract. It is customary to forward labourers by each steamer to S. Thomé; two of these sail in the month. The register in the Curador's office at Ben-

guella showed a pretty regular supply of a total of 1447 serviçaes in nine and a half months ending October 10, 1908, or about 152 per month on nineteen steamers. The rest of the year in the books was blank. The last ship to carry serviçaes from Benguella was the *Ambaca*, leaving on October 12, arriving in S. Thomé on the 19th; we left Madeira by the *Cazengo* on the 9th and arrived in S. Thomé on October 24.

The only other information gleaned officially was the statement of the Curador, as follows:—

He was solely responsible for interviewing the people brought to be contracted; he asked them, Did they, or did they not, wish to go? Of course if they did not wish to go, they were released; a few were released in the last court,¹ but no record is kept of the names or particulars of such cases. The *Malange*, leaving Principe on November 23rd, had brought back three men named Ibonde, Catumbela and Catuma; he had no knowledge of any money they may have brought.²

¹ This statement was confirmed by Commander Paula Cid, who probably attended the court.

² After the Conference in Lisbon in December, 1908, the planters issued to the Press a "reply" to the letter of the British Cocoa Makers, which was in the form of a defence of their position; they state:—

"Each labourer repatriated will receive about £18 on landing in Angola. Those who wish to renew their contract will receive 10 per cent increase in wages, and their capital (£18) will be returned to them in quarterly instalments of 6 per cent. A new repatriation fund will then be started for each labourer. The first contracts of service made under the law of January, 1903, will expire in the first half of the year 1908. (For full text of "Conclusions" see Appendix D, p. 147.)

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The Curador apologized for knowing so little of the returned labourers, as the subject of repatriation was new to him ; he had, he said, requested his brother officer in the islands to inform him in future, so that the returned serviçaes might report themselves at his office on arrival.¹

Our visit to Novo Redondo was not arranged beforehand, as we wished to place our time at the disposal of the Governor-General, should he wish to help us officially ; as he declined to do this, we planned our own time as seemed best under the circumstances.

We sailed from Benguela to Novo Redondo on December 12th, duly notifying the authorities on the day before.² Commander Cid also joined the ship on his return to Lisbon. There is no cable to Novo Redondo, so that it was impossible to send on an advice of our proposed visit. The *Malange* dropped anchor in the roads of Novo Redondo three miles from shore at eight o'clock on Sunday morning, December 13th. Difficulty arose in landing us and our baggage by the first boat from the ship, so we proposed that Mr. Burtt should go on alone, and try to arrange accommodation in the town, as there is no hotel, and we should need to ask the hospitality of some kind-hearted Portuguese ; this, however, he was not allowed to do ; the boat was said to be quite

¹ See new Regulations 70 and 93 on p. 169.

² Passports must be presented for *visé* within three days of entering any town in Portuguese West Africa ; and before the holder leaves a town the formality must be again observed. It is equally necessary when boarding a ship at a port, or travelling to the interior,

full; a message should be sent ashore, and a reply returned to the ship. At ten o'clock, came a courteous reply from a large trading house, to say that their accommodation was already taken up by the visitors to a *festa*, then being held, and that enquiry among the possible houses in the town, revealed for the same reason a similar state of congested hospitality. I wish I could state that the excuse had some foundation in fact, but find myself unable to do so; nine days previously (December 4th) we had landed the priest and his little party of native musicians, and they joined the ship that night (December 13th), on their return to Loanda; the most elastic imagination could not stretch the repertoire of the little band, or the enthusiasm of the Novo Redondo public, over a period exceeding a week, and the wreckage of dead palm leaves and coloured paper that had once formed a booth for the *festa*, near the Church, showed signs of many days dilapidation and neglect.

It was obviously impossible to force a visit upon unwilling hosts, and we carried neither sleeping outfit nor food for a week's camp on the foothills, so we readily accepted the invitation of a Benguella gentleman, who had shown us much kindness, to come ashore as his guests for the day.

The Curaçador, hearing of our arrival, very kindly invited us in his office, and was courteous and frank. His assistant showed an equal interest in in the work of the office, and in the well-kept books.

The Curador informed us that his district did not extend beyond five days' journey into the interior; it was no part of his duty to question the means of procuring labour: that was done by the *Chef do Conselho* (mayor), who passed on the men and women to him, after satisfying himself that they were free parties to the contract. The Curador stated that it was his duty to explain to the serviçaes the nature of the work and pay in S. Thomé and the length of the contract, and this he did before an interpreter. He stated that if they preferred not to contract themselves they were not contracted, and on the previous day, five had objected and returned to their homes. For the rest, contract forms¹ are made out and handed to the captain of the ship, who passes them to the Curador in S. Thomé, who in turn enters up particulars in his books and passes the original contract to the employer.

A summary of this contract² is handed to the serviçal, but it is generally found that he uses it for pipe-lights or drops it overboard, for he is not yet trained in respect for the Portuguese language, nor can he read or write. To maintain his identity to the end of the voyage, a metal disc is suspended round his neck, bearing the name of the port of destiny (S. Thomé or Principe) and the number of the contract in the register. This disc appears to be appreciated and respected by the serviçal as a new

¹ See Appendix E.

² See Appendix F.

charm. The register in the office of the Curador records clearly the man's name, age, home, and height. The women are entered on the same pages as the men, but we saw no sign of any recognition of union between man and woman, or any entry of children under fourteen. How the five years' contract system is applied to these infant emigrants we were unsuccessful in discovering on either side of the water.¹

Senhor Furtado, Curador at Novo Redondo, further informed us, that on December 4th there returned to Novo Redondo from S. Thomé on the s.s. *Malange* the first ten men ever repatriated. He stated that one of them named Bumba, on arrival, carried 80 milreis in cash (£16),² a trifle under the sum due to a five years' man in the S. Thomé Repatriation Fund;³ and that the rest had nothing.⁴ Though repatriation has existed in theory for many years, the office of the Curador has never been supplied with printed books or papers to record statistics, and the names and ages of these ten men were neatly written out on a hand-ruled piece of paper as given below.⁵

¹ The 1908 law provides that the Curador shall issue one form to cover the contract of man, wife, and children. We were informed that this was not with the intention of sinking the individuality of each person. I cannot say if this form is yet in use.

² See note on page 81.

³ Sixty months at 1500 reis per month = 90 milreis = £18.

⁴ These facts agree with the statement given to us by an independent person on s.s. *Malange*.

Xilombo . . . aged 25	Quinjamba . . . aged 26
Quipuoco . . . , , 34	Xiocola . . . , , 35
Palanca . . . , , 42	Xanlonga . . . , , 45
Calei . . . , , 28	Quitulo . . . , , 42
Quixibo . . . , , 45	Bumba . . . , , 25

Dr. Furtado told us that the ten men were still staying in Novo Redondo, awaiting the arrival of the next ship, which was to bring some of their friends from Principe. We boarded the *Ambaca* (the next ship) on her arrival from S. Thomé in Loanda, a week later, and were sorry to find that the captain had never heard of serviçaes going south from S. Thomé. I wrote to the Curador for explanation, and received a reply dated December 26th, 1908 :—

“ . . . no labourers came in the *Ambaca* from S. Thomé or Principe, when they arrive I shall advise you ”

On January 26th, 1909, he writes :—

“ Twelve men and women have been repatriated from Principe by s.s. *Zaire*, bringing in their pockets 280 milreis (£56). As I do not know if you wish to know their names, I have not given them, but if you desire, will send them at first opportunity.”

The first serviçaes due to be repatriated under the decree of January 29th, 1903, should have returned to their homes in the summer of 1908. We represented strongly to the S. Thomé authorities that repatriation must be no longer delayed, and we are glad to find that within a few weeks after leaving the island, the practicability of what was denounced as nigh impossible had already in some measure been demonstrated. There are obvious irregularities in connection with the return of these first serviçaes :—

1. Instead of paying the full repatriation money to them on landing in Angola (see Appendix G, p. 155) they have received some part of that money before sailing, and have arrived at the port of origin with much less than the amount due to them.
2. There is no guarantee for the safety of their persons and possessions on the long journey to the interior, without which no repatriation is complete.
3. In no case have any children been returned with their parents.

I am however thankful to be able to record that a definite start has been made, and shall watch with interest further developments.

We found in the straightforward replies of the Novo Redondo Curador some recompense for our disappointment in not being able to stay in the town, and are grateful to him for treating us as reasonable business men.

Our host provided us with a most excellent breakfast, and the afternoon was spent in a drive round a large sugar estate, which owes its prosperity to the wonderful enterprise of the manager, who is also an amateur engineer, in forming a nine-foot dam on the river as it leaves the hills, and thus providing a constant and ample water supply for the irrigation of the whole estate. Sunday is pay day and a whole holiday on the estates in Angola. The *serviças*, mostly women, were collected and received their pay in rum made on the place, and I believe of excellent quality: they appeared to be well fed and contented. The

machinery was English and American. The servicaes are allowed to choose a building site for their own huts of native design, which gave the place a more homely appearance than when all are closely packed within a small compound. This estate employs also some free labour.

We saw comparatively little of life on Angola estates. In one case, the able-bodied labourers were credited on the annual Balance Sheet at a round figure per head: if the five years' contract had any real significance, one would hardly suppose that an auditor would pass such a gross figure as a realizable asset; there would be at least some system of classification according to the unexpired years of service; the figure taken was the cost price on the spot of a new labourer, with a five years' contract.¹

In another case, the hands were housed in neatly red-roofed barracks, closely surrounded by a high wall with broken glass on the top: in this instance the property was near to the sea and a large town, and the manager has had great trouble in the past with fugitives.

Mr. Burtt, in his report, speaks of the practices in Ambrizette, north of Loanda; I have no information to add from the towns in the Congo district.

Generally speaking, my impression is that life on the Angola estates is a little more easy-going than in

¹ I have before me the Balance Sheet of one S. Thomé estate, where the labourers are entered at a gross price, but this is a much less figure than the actual cost.

S. Thomé: this tells both ways, because in the S. Thomé estates, where the management is good, there are better labour-saving appliances, better food, and generally better shops, where the labourer can spend his wage, instead of being obliged to take it in rum. Sunday in Angola is always, I believe, a free day.

It has often been stated that the irregularities connected with contract labour in Portuguese West African colonies are not so much due to defect in the laws, as to the responsible officials who do not sufficiently enforce the laws. I repeat the statement with deepened conviction, after the experience of my recent visit. Almost every Portuguese to whom one speaks, admits the irregularities that daily take place. The leading newspaper in the colony (*Voz d'Angola*) holds up the perversion of right and justice to the constant ridicule of its readers.

As all operations in the Benguela district were entirely suspended during our visit, I can give no personal evidence of the procedure of these courts. It was made equally impossible for us to see operations in Novo Redondo. A Portuguese official in conversation said :—

“In the Curador's office at . . . things are done in a straight manner, but I could tell of very strange things that have happened in the offices of other Curadors.”

Mr. Burtt, in conversation with a merchant in an Angolan town, asked him if he ever had any

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difficulty in re-contracting his serviçaes, and the reply was, "Oh, no, the Curador is a very decent fellow, and not strict."

While in Angola we saw some prisoners of war destined for S. Thomé, and three rebel chiefs on the deck of the mail-boat, bound for Mozambique.

I have now recorded every aspect of the subject that came under our notice with the exception of the transport from Angola to the islands; a voyage of seven or eight days, with sometimes a stop of two days in the harbour of Loanda.

We saw three shipments of Novo Redondo serviçaes. The *Cazengo*, seen in Loanda on November 16, had seventy or eighty, mostly women. The *Malange*, leaving Novo Redondo on December 13, had thirty or forty, all men and boys. The *Ambaca*, on which we travelled from Novo Redondo, on December 26 had about eighty women, and a very large number of children at the breast or less than four years of age. Each of these three shipments was composed of healthy people, who were all under thirty years of age, the majority much younger. They were well clothed with a bright cotton cloth and good blanket, and appeared to have sufficient accommodation both above and below decks. I do not overlook the fact that during our visit, the Benguella traffic was in suspense: these people, coming as they do from the far interior, are always the most weak and sickly. Any further addition to the numbers on board would have seriously taxed the

allotted deck accommodation of the three steamships named.

Reflections have been made on the methods of transporting the *serviçaes* to S. Thomé: personally, I consider the passage by the mail ships of the "Empreza Nacional," all British built and over 3,500 tons, to be much the least objectionable part of the present labour contract system. The seas in this latitude are almost always smooth, and on the large boats it would be scarcely possible to be disturbed by any motion. The ship's officers are good-natured and humane, for they are both seamen and Portuguese.¹

It appears to me to be preferable that the transport should continue upon the mail ships rather than by any other arrangement—as by some of the many sailing sloops on the coast, which would take much longer on the voyage and double the discomfort, or by the smaller local steamers of the Company, which could so easily be despatched at any moment, to replace the present arrangement.

Our experience has been that while there is no sign of distress in these Novo Redondo emigrants, the open countenance and ready laugh of the free man are conspicuously absent, and the general attitude is one of sullen resignation or sleepy indifference.

¹ "Well, Portugal at heart was never bad, as nations go. Her slaving record is, in point of humanity to the cargo, the best that any European nation can show who has a slaving West African past at all."—*West African Studies*, Mary H. Kingsley, p. 283.

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One cannot help wondering what can be behind the strange stop in the Benguella traffic. It is difficult to believe that one of the most profitable trades of the Colony was altogether suspended because of the presence in the city of two extra Englishmen,¹ travelling as private individuals, with no papers from their Government. Is it possible that the whole of the machinery of Curador and transport may be, for the time being at least, transferred to one of the small towns on the coast, beyond the offending gaze of the independent Portuguese, or of the stray foreigner in the large town, or on the homeward bound mail ships?

¹ The Benguella railway has for some years employed several Englishmen in the district

CONCLUSIONS

AND now to sum up :

First. THE SYSTEM OF OBTAINING AND TREATING LABOUR connected with the cocoa industry of these islands.

As it exists at present that system is indefensible.

Its component parts are :—

- A. Recruiting by irresponsible Europeans and their native agents on the mainland of Angola, the Governor-General declining all responsibility for the manner in which these operations are conducted. As a result, abuses of the gravest kind exist in the hinterland of Angola.
- B. A form of contract which in practice does not safeguard the liberty of the native.
- C. An excessive mortality on the islands which, bearing in mind the general fair treatment, abundant food, etc., must be due to one or more of four things :—
 1. Method of recruiting.
 2. Length of contract, five years.
 3. Long working hours, 62 per week, including Sunday.
 4. Crowded and insanitary condition of some of the labourers' quarters.

D. Repatriation laws constructed in a manner not calculated to facilitate repatriation. The Curador, who is wholly responsible for carrying out these laws, openly stated that in his opinion repatriation would be in most cases an injustice.

Second. THE ACTION OF THE ENGLISH COCOA FIRMS.

I have already dealt with this in the Introduction; it is only necessary to say here, that after taking the greatest pains to discover the best and most effective line of action, we followed a consistent course throughout, regardless of many criticisms from Englishmen and from Portuguese.

Other lines of action were publicly suggested in England ; of these suggestions the most mischievous has undoubtedly been that the English cocoa makers should purchase the islands and run the cocoa estates as a private speculation. Naturally this has been regarded in Portugal as a national insult, and the English cocoa makers have been accused of deceiving the world by professing to be interested in labour reforms, while in reality only desiring first to impair the prosperity of the S. Thomé estates, and then to buy them up at cheap rates.

No pains or money have been spared in the difficult task of ascertaining the facts. The special commission was sent out at the direct invitation of the Portuguese and with the advice of Sir Martin Gosselin, the British Minister. At each stage of our investiga-

tion we sought the advice of the British Foreign Office and of the wisest available counsellors, and our proceedings were publicly reported whenever occasion allowed in both England and Portugal.

In December, 1907, a definite pledge was given to us by Portugal's Colonial Minister (renewed by his successor), that the entire system would be altered, and in face of this pledge we agreed to wait one more year for the promised reforms to be put into operation.

The pledge made to us has not been kept.

Upon the expiration of that period, I visited, on behalf of the cocoa makers, both the islands and the mainland, in company with Mr. Joseph Burtt. The result of our investigations is here recorded. I did not visit the colonies as a spy, but with a courteous letter of introduction from the Portuguese Colonial Minister, and several private introductions.

We were treated with courtesy and kindness by the managers of the estates visited. The Government officers in S. Thomé and Angola definitely refused to assist us in one of the chief objects of our visit, which was to see the process of contracting and re-contracting native labour : it is impossible to explain their action as based on anything but official instructions. The world is justly suspicious of anything that is secret, and which will not stand the full light of independent investigation.

Enough was seen to show most clearly that although during our visit a few *serviços* were for the first time

allowed to return to the mainland, the whole system of "recruiting" slaves in the interior of Angola remains absolutely unchanged, and, needless to say, it is here that the root of the evil lies.

Under the circumstances the English firms, who have been very patient, cannot contemplate the further delay involved in waiting for the report of Commander Paula Cid. I hope that report may be productive of reform; but after the definite pledge made to us, we had the right to expect at the end of a year to find substantial reforms in progress in Angola.

On March 17, 1909, the English firms issued to the press a notification that they had ceased buying S. Thomé cocoa. On the following day Messrs. Stollwerck Bros., of Cologne, issued a similar communication. (See Appendix J.)

In ceasing for the time being to buy cocoa from these Portuguese islands, the English firms do so with no personal or international prejudice. They will be the first to welcome reforms that are down-right and sincere.

Light must be admitted to every process connected with recruiting and contracting, and returns must be published that will truthfully record the arrival and return of labourers, and births and deaths on the island estates. A future purchaser must be able at any time to obtain particulars which will give him full confidence in the labour conditions connected with the cultivation of a food product, about which the world will always be somewhat fastidious.

Third. OUR RELATIONS WITH THE PORTUGUESE, and the problem with which they have to deal.

From the first it has been our desire to treat the Portuguese as friends, not as enemies. We have been perfectly straightforward and open with them throughout.

A year ago I had the opportunity of explaining carefully to a Cabinet Minister in Lisbon the custom adopted by large municipalities in England, of inserting in their public contracts the "Fair Wages Clause," which ensures to the artisan or labourer a recognised standard of working hours and pay. It also provides "right of entry and inspection," which gives to the purchaser a right to investigate at any time the work in progress in the contractor's hands. I said that my own firm, among the first private concerns in this country, had adopted the same plan, and was buying machinery and manufactured goods on these terms. I asked him if he considered it possible for us to be indifferent to the conditions of labour employed in producing our staple raw material, when we were so carefully safeguarding some of our sundry purchases. He appreciated the position, but assured me, to his regret, that very few Portuguese had arrived at such a standard of right or reasoning.

I understand and sympathise with the patriotism of the Portuguese which resents the interference of

another nation in the affairs of his country. But the progress of modern education, and the whole trend of modern thought, make it impossible for any one nation to put back the march of progress in the treatment of subject races which modern standards of right demand, without coming into conflict with the irresistible force of international public opinion.

These standards are no ancient heritage of England. Within the last hundred years we have been the greatest slave owning nation, but Englishmen of the nineteenth century fought and won the great battle for human liberty, and the world cannot go back on that victory.

That victory with all that it involved has left permanent results upon the British character, and will continue as a force, with which not only British but foreign governments must reckon.

“What used to be the crotchet of a few religious minds and humanitarian sort of persons has a place in the great work which this country has undertaken to free the African races, and to abolish, in the first place, the slave trade by sea, and then, as we hope, slaving by land.”¹

It is this force which our continental critics so often misunderstand, assigning its manifestations to sinister motives.

¹ Sir Bartle Frere, at the Glasgow Chamber of Commerce, Nov. 10th, 1876.

THE PARAMOUNT NECESSITIES OF THE SITUATION ARE :—

- A. The sweeping away of irresponsible recruiting agencies on the mainland, and their substitution by a properly regulated recruiting system, controlled by the Government, acting through disinterested Government officials.
- B. Compliance with the existing law enjoining freedom of contract, which must in future, as it has not in the past, fully safeguard the liberty of the native.
- C. In establishing freedom of contract, there will doubtless follow modifications in the existing term of service (five years) and working hours (62 hours per week, including Sunday) which are in excess of the general practice in tropical Africa.
- D. The re-modelling of the re-contracting system in the islands, making the return of every servical with his wife and family to the mainland not only possible, but the recognised and easily available right of every individual.
- E. A service of protection and control in Angola which will ensure the safe and easy return of the labourer to his own home in the interior.

I cannot forecast the exact method in which these essentials will be applied in the Portuguese colonies ; but the existing system of trading in human beings,

100 LABOUR IN PORTUGUESE WEST AFRICA
or their retention for life, which we in England call slavery, must be stamped out of the colonies of every country that wishes to consider itself civilised.

It is a commonplace to state that Africa is valueless without the black man's labour, and therefore for mere economical reasons a system must be found which will preserve the race, in such conditions and surroundings, that it will prosper and multiply. This is exactly what the present S. Thomé plan fails to do.

No country has a more glorious past than Portugal. Why should she not take her place again among the nations that live and the Powers that rule?

I know how difficult is the problem before the Portuguese Government, but I believe also that it is not insoluble. I have heard outspoken condemnation by Portuguese of the existing system, and I would fain hope that the people of Portugal and of her colonies will themselves insist upon a radical change.

A PERSONAL NOTE

I HAVE endeavoured in the foregoing paper to avoid reference to matters in no way bearing upon the object of our visit. S. Thomé is so wholly given up to the production of cocoa, that all official and social life is in touch with some part of the labour problem. It is also a vital question in Angola, because of the constant drain on the population, and the existence locally of domestic slavery.

I have not attempted to colour my report with any sensational matter, believing that this can in no way strengthen the relation of simple fact.

Our thanks, due to many private individuals for their kindness, are very inadequately expressed ; in common with all Englishmen in Africa since Livingstone, we join with him in recording gratefully our admiration for the hospitality of the Portuguese.

I had no sickness worse than a slight attack of fever lasting two days, and no discomfort other than a few bad nights ; a common experience in any country where, at sea-level, the quicksilver has no use for a Fahrenheit scale under eighty degrees, and where your wooden chamber echoes and magnifies the noises of the night. Mr. Burtt, from his longer experience,

suffered even less inconvenience, and this notwithstanding the fact that we visited S. Thomé in the worst season of the year.

I have during six years paid three visits to Lisbon and one to Africa, and have made the matter a subject of constant and careful study. My conclusions are not, therefore, those of a hasty judgment or a fevered brain. My firm and our friends have spent much useful time and several thousand pounds in their investigations, and the decision to which they have come may in the future entail monetary loss if the boycott becomes general. This will be no matter for regret if it assists in establishing in the Portuguese colonies a more humane labour system.

The heaviest part of the whole work has fallen upon my friend Joseph Burtt, who faithfully carried out his original enquiry in face of many difficulties, and to whose knowledge and ability as interpreter, any usefulness of our recent visit is due. His views and mine coincide in the general conclusions of this statement.

APPENDICES

- A. REPORT OF JOSEPH BURTT AND DR. HORTON, 1907.
- B. STATEMENT MADE TO THE LIVERPOOL CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, 1907.
- C. STATEMENT MADE IN LISBON, 1907.
- D. REPLY TO STATEMENT (C), LISBON, 1907.
- E. FORM OF LABOUR CONTRACT, ANGOLA.
- F. CONDENSED FORM OF LABOUR CONTRACT AS HANDED TO LABOURER, ANGOLA.
- G. LABOUR DECREE (CLAUSES), LISBON, 1908.
- H. EXTRACTS, TRANSVAAL NATIVE AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT REPORT, 1906.
- I. REGULATIONS AFFECTING LABOUR FROM MOZAMBIQUE TO S. THOMÉ, 1909.
- J. STATEMENT ISSUED TO THE PRESS, MARCH 17TH, 1909

APPENDIX A

REPORT

On the Conditions of Coloured Labour on the Cocoa Plantations of S. Thomé and Principe, and the methods of procuring it in Angola.

JOSEPH BURTT.

DR. HORTON.

July, 1907.

PRESENTED BY THE BRITISH TO THE PORTUGUESE GOVERNMENT,
AND BY THE COCOA MAKERS TO THE PROPRIETORS OF THE
PLANTATIONS OF S. THOMÉ AND PRINCIPE.

I HAVE now completed the enquiry undertaken on your instructions into the conditions of coloured labour in the Cocoa Plantations of S. Thomé and Principe, and the methods of procuring that labour in Angola. I propose to deal with the matter in the following order :—

- I. General nature and course of the enquiry.
- II. The Cocoa Plantations of S. Thomé and Principe.
- III. Angola as a recruiting ground for labour.
- IV. Indentured labour in other Portuguese Colonies.
- V. General Conclusions.

I.—GENERAL NATURE AND COURSE OF THE ENQUIRY.

After some months in Portugal to acquire a knowledge of the language, I left Lisbon for Africa on June 1, 1905. I reached S. Thomé on June 13 and spent five and a half

months there and in Principe, visiting the principal plantations or roças. I stayed altogether at over forty roças and made a careful study of the condition of the black labourers, known as *serviçaes*, employed there. Early in December I proceeded to the city of Loanda, the capital of the Portuguese colony of Angola. I then visited Benguella and Mossamedes, and made an excursion into the interior of Southern Angola as far as Humpata. While awaiting the arrival of a companion, Dr. W. Claude Horton, who was coming out to assist in the investigation, I took a boat northward, and stayed at Ambrizette and Cabinda. After waiting some weeks in Benguella, Dr. Horton and I proceeded eastward along the great slave route from Katumbella, an old town near the new port of Lobito, to the interior, passing Bailundo, Bihé, Moshico, and reached the Zambesi River, eight hundred miles from the coast. We remained a short time at Kavungo, where the most easterly Portuguese post on the route is situated, and then returned to Bihé. Here we turned northward, and passing Pungo Ndongo, took train at Lucalla for Loanda. This inland journey covered a distance of nearly two thousand miles, and occupied a little over four months. On December 26, 1906, Dr. Horton left Africa for England, and a day or two later I went southward, again visiting Benguella and Mossamedes. From the latter port I took boat to Delagoa Bay. After five weeks spent at Lorenzo Marquez and in visiting Johannesburg and Pretoria, I again took boat and returned to Europe, via the Suez Canal. I arrived in England on April 13, 1907, after an absence of nearly two years.

The work of investigation was greatly facilitated by the general letter of introduction from the cocoa firms, and a letter from Sir Maurice de Bunsen, the British Minister at Lisbon, to the British Consul at Loanda. Beyond this,

many of the leading cocoa planters in Lisbon kindly gave me introductions to the managers of plantations in the islands of S. Thomé and Principe.

During my journey I had interviews with the Governors-General of Angola and Mozambique; the Governors of S. Thomé, Principe, Cabinda, Benguella, and Mossamedes; Lord Selborne, His Majesty's High Commissioner for South Africa; Sir Godfrey Y Lagden, Transvaal Commissioner for Native Affairs; the British Consul-General at Lorenzo Marques; the British Consuls at Loanda and Beira; the Imperial Secretary at Johannesburg; the Secretary for Native Affairs in Barotseland; the Bishop of Lebombo; the Chairman of the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association; and officials, medical men, missionaries, traders, and many private persons whose circumstances gave them peculiar facilities for acquiring information on native matters. It will be readily understood that much of the information I obtained and have made use of was given by those who were entertaining me as a guest, or was, for some other reason, of a confidential character. I have not, therefore, felt myself at liberty to give in this report the names of many of my informants, or details which would lead to their identity being disclosed.

II.—THE COCOA PLANTATIONS OF S. THOMÉ AND PRINCIPE.

Description of the Islands.

The island of S. Thomé lies in the Gulf of Guinea, close to the Equator, and some two hundred miles west of the French Congo. It has an area of 416 square miles, is mountainous and well watered, and with its rich soil and hot, damp atmosphere is peculiarly suited for tropical agriculture.

Principe is situated about one hundred miles north-east

of S. Thomé. It has an area of 49 square miles, with a climate and soil similar to S. Thomé, but is less productive than the larger island.

The Cocoa Industry.

Within the last few years these islands have become one of the most productive cocoa-growing regions in the world. The Portuguese have shown great enterprise in the development of this colony, and are justly proud of its rapid growth. In 1901 the quantity of cocoa exported from S. Thomé was 277,000 cwt. In 1905 it had risen to 507,000 cwt. The figures for 1906—482,300 cwt.—do not represent any permanent decline in production. Roughly speaking, one-fifth of the world's supply of cocoa comes from the two islands. Large districts have recently been brought into cultivation, but there is still much rich forest land.

Absence of Indigenous Labour.

The plantations are cultivated by imported black labour. The natives proper will not work, and have a saying, "A native of S. Thomé does not work." The planter is thus obliged to look abroad for help. Some years ago an attempt was made to use Chinese labour, but without success. A recent importation of Indians from the Portuguese colony of Goa has resulted in heavy expenses and much loss of life, and the experiment has now been abandoned.

Present Supplies of Labour.

The present sources of supply are three—(a) Angola, (b) the Cape Verde Islands, and (c) the Portuguese colony of Cabinda, north of the Congo. With the labourers imported

from the last two localities I do not propose to deal at any length. Their numbers are small compared with those of labourers from Angola. There is no ground for thinking that compulsion is employed in recruiting them, and they are repatriated at the termination of their contracts. The Cabindas work chiefly on the steamboats and as domestic servants. The great majority of the imported labourers come from Angola. The official bulletins show that in the five years 1901-5 some 18,000 of these entered the two islands.

Royal Decree regulating Serviças.

The importation of serviças and their employment on the islands are now mainly regulated by a Royal Decree of January 29, 1903, replacing and supplementing earlier ordinances on the same subject. By this decree a Central Committee of Labour and Emigration is constituted in Lisbon, consisting of six members, two of whom are officials of the Colonial Office, the remaining four being elected by the proprietors of S. Thomé and Principe resident in Lisbon. The principal work of superintendence is vested in a Local Board of Labour and Emigration, which consists of seven members. Three of them are Government officials, viz. the Curator-General of Serviças, the Head of the Health Department, and the Director of Public Works; three are proprietors, managers or factors of rural properties in S. Thomé, chosen by the Central Committee, while the seventh member is the Manager of the National Colonial Bank. The duties of this Board are to nominate emigration agents on the mainland; to fix and pay their remuneration, which is to be repaid to the Treasury by the planters in the islands; to decide as to the number of serviças required; to allocate them among the different plantations; and to watch over

the fulfilment of the terms of the contract, especially those concerning lodgings, food, treatment in sickness, repatriation, and renewal of contracts. The emigration agents are to use all means in their power to prevent secret emigration, to exercise the greatest care and vigilance in the identification of natives, and to abstain from employing any violence or fraudulent means to obtain them. Contracts are only to be made before Curators or other Government officials, who are to satisfy themselves that the serviçaes are acting voluntarily, and have been properly identified. The wages of serviçaes are not to be less than 2500 reis (10s.) per month in the case of men, or 1800 (7s. 3d.) per month in the case of women. Three-fifths of the wages are, however, to be retained by the employer and paid into a repatriation fund. The employer is to provide each serviçal with lodging, food, clothing, and medical attendance. On the serviçal completing his contract he is to be repatriated at the cost of his employer. A Government commissary is to accompany each batch of returning serviçaes, and the amounts retained out of their wages are to be paid to them on board in the presence of the local emigration agent and the commandant of the ship. If a serviçal desires to renew his contract after the five years have expired, he is at liberty to do so; but in that case his wages are to be increased by at least 10 per cent. Female serviçaes are to be relieved of all work during their pregnancy, and for twenty days after being confined. While suckling their children they are only to be employed on light labour. Searches for fugitive serviçaes are to be made on the order of a legal tribunal, or upon a complaint that ten have run away.

Vital Statistics.

The English Blue Book of December, 1902, gives the serviçal population of both islands in November, 1900, as 22,388. This is now much more, but no official figures are obtainable. Some regions of S. Thomé and Principe are salubrious, but the islands, as a whole, are unhealthy. For the purpose of calculating the death-rate one is therefore obliged to take the records of each plantation. By the courtesy of the planters I was able to obtain figures showing the number of deaths in 26 roças in S. Thomé, with an aggregate population of 11,606 adult serviçaes. These show death-rates among adults varying from 100 to 5 per thousand, and the total figures show an adult death-rate of 44 per thousand. Figures similarly obtained at 11 roças in Principe, having an aggregate adult population of 2454, show a death-rate varying from 220 to 48 per thousand, and a total adult death-rate of 110 per thousand. The figures for S. Thomé do not include one large and most unhealthy roça, and I am satisfied that complete figures for the two islands would show a considerably higher death-rate. In confirmation of this statement I may say that the Medical Officer of a very populous district in S. Thomé told me that he estimated the adult mortality in that district at over 100 per thousand. To appreciate the significance of these figures it is important to bear in mind that they are those of a population in the prime of life, whose death-rate in every country in the world is very much below that of the general death-rate. For instance, the death-rate of England and Wales for 1905 was 15·2 per thousand, whereas the Registrar-General estimates that the deaths of the population between 25 and 45 were 7·53 per thousand. The death-rate in Principe is much increased by the prevalence of sleeping

sickness, as parts of that island are infested with the tsetse fly. S. Thomé is free from this pest. In both islands the death-rate during the first year of acclimatisation is very high, and an intelligent and experienced planter estimated it to be one-fifth of the serviçães imported. At one roça I visited in S. Thomé they had lost 80 out of 150 newcomers. It must be remembered that in many cases the serviçal changes the comparatively healthy climate of the interior for that of an equatorial island, the leisurely indolence of his village for continuous labour, and a diet consisting of almost entirely one article, such as manioc,¹ for a variety of fresh foods. To the African, who lives as his forefathers lived, these changes are in themselves sufficient to produce a high mortality ; but, apart from this, the mental distress and hopelessness of a man separated from his family and placed in a strange environment have a highly prejudicial effect upon him.

Nature of Employment.

The employment mainly consists of keeping the ground clear from weeds, gathering and harvesting of cocoa, and putting it up ready for export. There is of course a large amount of miscellaneous consequential employment, such as the tending of cattle and the care of horses. Speaking generally, the labour appears to be neither heavy nor arduous. In the early stages of the development of a roça, however, there is much heavy manual labour, including clearing the forests, and the construction of roads and railways. In the larger roças transport is mainly effected by tramways.

¹ *Cassava-manihot utilissima*, from which Cassava and Tapioca are prepared.

Hours of Labour.

The servíçal works about 9 hours a day on week-days and about 5 hours on Sundays.

He commences work at 6 a.m. and concludes at 5.30 p.m., with intervals amounting to 2½ hours for rest and meals. After the regular work of the plantation is closed, there are still miscellaneous duties to perform, such as gathering grass and firewood. At 7 p.m. there is generally a nightly parade for inspection. At 9 p.m. the bell is rung for rest, which lasts until 5 a.m.

Diet.

The articles of diet in common use are maize-meal, rice, beans, dried fish, American beef in barrels, and a little fresh pork or beef. Palm oil is regularly given, also bananas and other fruit, at many roças. About 2 lbs. of food, not including fruit and oil, is given daily, and appears to be ample.

Housing.

The housing of the older roças consists of rows of small wooden sheds, covered with galvanized iron roofs. Recently great improvements have been made, and some of the modern plantations have houses covering 5 metres by 4, with tiled roofs and raised floors.

Care in Sickness.

Nearly all the roças have hospitals, with separate wards for men and women, under the charge of European dispensers. A doctor attends periodically, and can be sent for in special cases. At one roça I visited, some £14 was spent on a special visit of the doctor to attend a servíçal. Anæmia, dysentery, pneumonia, fevers, and tetanus (and

sleeping sickness in Principe) are among the principal serious diseases. Most of the cases I saw in the hospitals were of a slight character, colds, wounds, ulcers, etc. Many new hospitals are in construction, and there is an advancing standard of efficiency and comfort.

Wages.

In addition to food, housing, medicine, and clothes, which are commonly given twice a year, the man serviçal from Angola gets a minimum payment of about 4s. a month, and the woman rather less. Many, if they are good servants, receive more, and some few get as much as £1. Eight shillings a month is a common wage for a man.

Punishments.

Fines are a very common form of punishment. Corporal punishment is prohibited by law, but it is nevertheless extensively practised. At times the hand is beaten with a thick, flat, circular piece of wood with a handle, known as a "palmatoria." In more serious cases a strip of hide, known as a "chicotte," is sometimes used occasionally a thong of thick rubber. The roça system places an almost unlimited power in the hands of the planter. One has but to accompany him in his nightly inspection of the lined-up serviçaes to realize this. The white foremen stand by their gangs of negroes, with their hats in their hands, as he passes by and gives the word which changes the black figures into moving, speaking men and women. It would need almost superhuman courage to defy his authority there. What are laws and royal decrees compared with the proximity of a chicotte? Small as are the islands, many roças, owing to steep mountains and winding paths, are remote from the city—it may be two days'

journey—and the servical, if he sets out to lodge a complaint with the Curator, may be seized before he reaches his destination.

To MESSRS. CADBURY BROS., LTD.,
J. S. FRY & SONS, LTD.,
ROWNTREE & CO., LTD.,
STOLLWERCK BROS., LTD.

LISBON,

December 1, 1907.

Gentlemen,

I wish to state that the paragraph in my report headed "Punishments" is constructed in a manner that may convey an impression not entirely just to the Proprietors of S. Thomé plantations.

Will you therefore kindly make the following addition to the report as presented to you on July 14, 1907:—

"Though convinced of the very common occurrence of corporal punishment in spite of the restrictions of the law, I am sure that on the best estates this is against the wish of the proprietors, and is one of those abuses that repatriation will quickly check."

"I should also like to state that I have evidence of the fairness of the Government Curator, and know that from time to time he visits the estates, including those in the most distant parts of the island."

Yours faithfully,
JOSEPH BURTT.

Runaways.

Attempts to escape from the roças are common. The printed forms of return generally used in plantations provide a space for stating the number of runaways, and the royal decree of January 29, 1903, recognizes the practice by providing that a search is to be organized by the authorities on a complaint that not less than ten

serviçaes have run away. These attempts to get away are, however, usually abortive. Some serviçaes, however, do make good their escape and live in the recesses of the forests and mountains of southern S. Thomé, where they eke out a miserable existence. At Principe it is no uncommon thing for them to steal boats and make for the mainland.

Repatriation.

I have detailed the provisions of the royal decree as to repatriation. But in practice no repatriation of the labourer from Angola ever takes place. He never returns to the mainland. Once in S. Thomé or Principe he remains there till death. On this point all the authorities are unanimous. During my stay in Angola I only heard of one case of repatriation. That the Angolan does not remain in the islands voluntarily is shown by his frequent attempts to escape, and by the fact that the Cape Verde Islanders and the Cabindas, who are free labourers, almost invariably return to their homes at the termination of their contract of service.

III.—ANGOLA AS A RECRUITING GROUND FOR LABOUR.

I think I can best set out the results of my enquiries on the mainland by speaking of the various places I visited in geographical order.

The Coast Towns. Loanda.

The first town in the interior which I visited was Loanda, the capital of the province. Altogether I stayed about two months there. Whilst there an incident happened which illustrates how the question of the export of labour to the islands is bound up with the social institutions of Angola. One evening, my servant brought a boy about

ten years old for me to see. His name was Antonio, and he was described to me as the slave of an hotel-keeper, who had bought him for five milreis (£1) and had offered to sell him to my servant. My servant saw the hotel-keeper lift the child up by his ears, and throw him to the ground, and he was at times beaten with palmatoria and chicotte. I took him apart and talked quietly with him. He told me his master beat him every day with the palmatoria, and on feeling his palms I found them very hard. His little sister was under the same master. The Portuguese law, of course, does not permit slavery, but this was only one of many instances I found on the mainland in which the labour employed was not voluntary.

Benguella

Benguella is the port whence have been shipped the natives who for years have been pouring down to the coast by the great slave route, whose branches reach far eastward and are fed from the dark regions of the Congo and the far interior. I met there with abundant evidence of the kind of compulsory labour I have referred to. Whilst I was there a boy at an hotel was ordered to beat his own wife, at the time pregnant, and did it.

A man staying at an hotel in the town heard shrieks in one of the great house yards, still used to enclose serviçaes, and common in Benguella, and saw a boy rushing out, bleeding terribly. I myself saw the stains of blood on the road. A man told me he had bought a dozen serviçaes there whom he believed to be free men. I heard afterwards that some of them had run away, and that he was obliged to put the rest of them in irons at night. Strings of serviçaes in clean, gay clothes, and merry with brandy, are constantly seen going down to the boat bound for S. Thomé. A young Englishman told me that he recently

saw a man outside the city in charge of a gang of serviçaes coming down from the interior take a rifle and shoot one of them, who was too weak to be of any value.

Mossamedes.

Two hundred miles to the south lies the pleasant little town of Mossamedes. Few serviçaes are sent from here, but while I was there a shipment was made. A friend of mine saw them weeping on board. Nearly all the work of the commercial houses and plantations is performed by serviçal labour. The labourer often runs away, but is always caught, for he is surrounded everywhere by men who, though of his own colour, are glad to earn a few milreis by delivering him to his master. He is then handed over to the police, and beaten according to the wish of his master.

Relation of Necessitous Debtors to Labour Recruiting.

Ambrizette is a small port a hundred miles north of Loanda. A Portuguese has recently settled in Ambrizette for the purpose of procuring and trading in serviçaes. He employs natives, who go about in the district and worm out the private affairs of the people. When these agents find a quarrel between two natives they bring them before the authorities, and judgment being given, the offender is told he must at once make retribution. Probably the only way in which he can do this is to sell as a serviçal either one of his own domestic servants or someone he has in his power, as a nephew or niece, who, by African custom, are the property of the maternal uncle.

This is exactly what the trader wants. He hands over cloth to the value of a few pounds to the native, who pays his judgment debt with it. The unfortunate subject of the bargain is taken possession of by the white man and im-

prisoned in his house. In due course, in company with other unfortunates, he is sent secretly down to the south. Finally, he is forwarded to the emigrating agent at Loanda, and when the affair is well under cover of legality, he is shipped to the island plantations as a native who has entered into a free contract for five years' service.

Disputes among Natives.

The evil practice of raking up old offences, known as "crimes," is common in many parts of Angola. Sometimes the parties actually concerned are dead. The natives are inveterate litigants. A case in which a fowl is concerned may result in a claim for a goat. This may not be settled till such time as the goat might have had kids, and this serves as a base for a further claim. The case is taken to the fort, and if the fine imposed is a heavy one, it is generally paid in natives. One such case came before our notice in some detail. A boy named Ngumba asked a missionary with whom we were staying what he could do in reference to his wife's cousin, Neyambi, a girl about fifteen years of age, who had been taken as a slave. It seems that an old native, named Saulamba, said that his uncle once loaned some goods to the girl's family. Debtor and creditor were both dead, but on this ancient grievance Saulamba had actually taken Neyambi, an absolutely free girl, and exchanged her for another slave with a Portuguese trader. The exchange benefited both parties; Saulamba got an interior slave, instead of a local one who might bring reproaches upon him, and the trader got a young girl. This poor girl, Neyambi, was thus a slave for life, and the mother was breaking her heart over her daughter's misfortune. Had the relatives been rich enough they might have redeemed the girl, but the more anxious were they to do so the higher would be the price. I

afterwards received photographs of this girl, her mother, and the village, and heard that she had been redeemed for forty kilos of rubber, worth about £12. I obtained particulars of an incident which happened at Ambrizette shortly before my arrival there. A native bought a wife for 5000 rods (about £6). The woman deserted him, and went to another man; not wishing to lose his property, he succeeded in getting her back for a tip of 300 rods, and then sold her for some £5 to the trader at Ambrizette mentioned above, who sent her down to Loanda to be shipped to the plantations.

Smuggling of Serviças.

I have good reason to believe that, besides the numbers sent over by the steamers of the "Empreza Nacional," serviças are smuggled into the islands. The unfrequented bays and outlying plantations of S. Thomé and Principe afford facilities which would make the carrying on of this irregular traffic extremely easy, and the profits on a few hundred natives, thus run across, would be very considerable.

Journey to the Interior.

On July 28, 1906, Dr. Horton and I left Benguella for the interior. A white servant, two Cabinda servants, fifty Quelengue carriers, with a mule and two donkeys, had been sent on towards Katumbella, an old town lying near the end of the route from the interior. On the morning of the 30th our caravan was moving slowly up the bare mountains towards the interior, along paths worn smooth and dusty by bare feet.

Evidence of Compulsion.

It was not long before we found skeletons and shackles. These shackles are blocks of wood, in which an oblong hole is hewn to admit the hands or feet. A stout peg is then driven through the side, dividing the ankles or wrists, and making withdrawal impossible. They vary in size and shape. I saw some intended for women's hands, with a fork for the neck. A long, heavy pole is sometimes used, and must be a terrible instrument attached to the neck. In the gully of a dry stream bed, where we stayed to rest, a few yards from where we sat, and under the side of an overhanging rock, we saw the decomposing corpse of a man. Hard by lay a small basket, a large wooden spoon, a native mat, and a few filthy clothes. The dead man lay on his back, with his limbs spread out, probably as he had died, left hopelessly weak by a gang going down to the coast. Another skeleton lay within a few yards, making five we had seen in a few hours' march. Most of them, at any rate, must have been serviçaes, as free carriers who die on the route are generally buried by their relatives, some of whom are usually in the caravan.

Bailundo.

On August 14 we reached Bailundo. There has been much improvement in the treatment of natives since the Bailundo war of 1902; I was told, however, that even now it is a common thing for a man's master to send him down to the coast as a serviçal for the islands in punishment of an offence. Needing a fresh hammock pole, I stopped one day at a store on the road, and had some conversation with the manager. He said that if the climate were not deadly, the islands would be filled with the numbers of serviçaes that were sent over, and that the

native so dreads the islands from whence none return, that he would not go there to work for 100 milreis (£20) a month.

Bihé.

Bihé was long an important interior centre for the slave traffic. Its inhabitants have been great travellers and slavers, and have carried their language, Umbundo, far and wide along the roads of the interior. They undertake journeys of many months and even years, and have been known to go as far as Lake Ngami, 700 miles to the south-east.

Caravans for the Coast.

One morning I saw a caravan from the Lunda country, 500 miles away, which was passing through Bihé in charge of natives. Interpersed among the Bihéans were lean men with bent knees, who tottered under their loads. The breasts of many of them were covered with light-coloured scars, for, having little clothing, they lie very close to the camp fires, and thus get burnt during cold nights on these African highlands. I have seen freshly imported serviçae at Principe in much the same condition as these emaciated carriers. Natives thus brought from the far interior are not necessarily for export. They may be kept as domestic servants, and as such are generally well treated. But their position, at best, is an insecure one, for if their masters get into financial difficulties, they are sold to traders, who are eager to buy. This old custom of owning servants is deeply rooted in African life. It plays into the hands of the trader, and is a prolific source of supply for the export traffic.

The Quanza: Further Evidence of Compulsion.

On September 1 Dr. Horton and I left Bihé, and on the 6th crossed the Quanza River. We passed large numbers of wooden shackles by the roadside and hanging on trees. Most of them were for hands or feet of a single individual, others were for shackling two or three together. We continued to see shackles for many days along the route. As I walked along I once counted twenty in a few minutes, conclusive evidence of the compulsory nature of servical recruiting in the interior. We have at times seen shackles, of various sizes, in heaps. A man, whom we met, recently found corpses, still shackled together, at a place in the Quanza district, two days' journey from our road. We were prevented from visiting this gruesome record of compulsion.

The Hungry Country.

Two days after crossing the Quanza we entered a district known as the "hungry country," from the fact that there are no villages on the road, and it is impossible to buy meal or any food for the carriers. It is a pleasant, well-watered region, some 150 miles across. We were told that villages were now encroaching on both sides. This part of the route is very trying to carriers with heavy loads. It necessitates taking a large supply of food and long marches. During the days when large slave caravans passed through it many of the captives perished here.

One day Dr. Horton noticed a skeleton which had evidently not been there long, and we constantly passed dry bones and shackles. But it was near the Quanza that the shackles were particularly numerous, and the probable reason is, that the captives having been brought so far,

and the "hungry country" being between them and their homes, there was little fear of escape, and the heavy shackles were flung away.

Near Kavungo. Compulsory Recruiting in the Far Interior.

On October 4 we reached Kavungo, or Nana Kandundo, or Nyakatoro, as it is variously called, lying near the Zambesi River. Though the day of large caravans is passed, natives are still purchased north-east of Kavungo, and passed down to the coast. While we were at Kavungo three such caravans arrived on their way westward. We sent a shrewd and reliable native to investigate. He returned after a few days, bringing back a story of cruel injustice. One trader had left with fifty natives, another with twenty, and he saw shackles outside one of their houses; at Tchipamba he found a third trader in possession of five servicaes, three men and two women. The natives, and among them the son of the chief Katendi, complained bitterly of the treatment they had received from the white men, who tied them up and took them for trifling debts of three or four eights of cloth (12s. or 16s.), and they desired these things might be reported to the fort. The local chief pointed out the house of a man who had been taken by a trader for a debt of two eights and something less than a pound of gunpowder. The messenger slept at Kakambwe, on the Luachi River, where he was informed that a trader, of most evil repute, lost three servicaes, two of whom took refuge in Katapungo's village. At the trader's request these two were returned to him. He then made Katapungo responsible for the third, whom the villagers denied having seen. The trader then sent armed servants, under a trusty black, named Malange, and they killed Katapungo, the head-man

of the village, and his brother, and caught five villagers and took them away as serviçaes. The people asked our messenger, Why does not the "commandante" at the fort come and protect us against these traders? This particular trader has been reported to the authorities for dealing in natives, but though some steps were taken against him by the "commandante," he does not appear to have been punished. I was told that this trader once shot a man, and held nine women and children at ransom for cloth he had given; and that he was recently offering, through a native agent at a village near Kuvungo, three women at the price of an ox a head; one was already sold. He is said to carry on regular trade with the rebel soldiers of the Congo, giving them oxen, rifles and powder in exchange for natives.

Congo Raiders.

The region round Kavungo, being near the English and Congo Free State territories, offers special facilities for traffic in natives, as an offender can escape over the border. There are at least six Portuguese trading establishments situated near the Congo border. The usual plan is to employ intelligent blacks as agents for procuring the natives. Instead of themselves raiding for natives, these agents buy them from the rebel soldiers above referred to. These soldiers—the Vallecci or Revoltés—revolted from the service of the Congo Free State more than ten years ago. They are cannibals, living mostly on human flesh, and when a native whom they had sold was asked why they had not eaten him, he replied that he had a companion with him, and that both their arms had been scratched by the Vallecci, and, after tasting the blood, they sold him, and ate his companion. They have been joined by various outlaws and malcontents, and may number five hundred.

The Congo authorities have tried to suppress them, but without success, and they still continue devastating and raiding villages, and supplying slaves to the Portuguese traders. They are well supplied with arms and ammunition. When trading they insist that the weapons they buy shall penetrate a certain thickness of tree as a proof of driving power; if up to this standard, an arm, with some ammunition, readily purchases twenty natives. A trader living three days' journey from Kavungo recently bought that number of natives for a small bore rifle.

While at Kavungo we saw an intelligent-looking young man, a son of the chief Kawawe. He stated that he had a young woman and a leopard's skin which he wished to sell for powder. His father, Kawawe, has appealed to the Congo authorities to protect him from the Vallecci, who were then some 120 miles north-east of Kavungo.

Return to the Coast.

Lucalla is on the Loanda railway line, and is a collecting point for servícaes, who are often sent down to the sea by rail. We took train here and reached the coast on December 7th, 1906.

The Governor-General on the System.

On our return to the coast I again called on the Governor-General of Angola, and gave him particulars of our journey to Kavungo. After mentioning some of the cruelties attending the methods of obtaining labour, I added that the present system was injurious to the interests of the Portuguese in Angola. He listened with attention, and thanked me for the information I had given him. He advocated repatriation, and said he thought a better system might be adopted than the present one.

History of Labour Recruiting in Angola.

It may be well at this point to narrate briefly the recent history of labour recruiting in Angola. It divides itself naturally into two periods, namely, that before and that after the Bailundo war of 1902. Before the war large gangs of natives, sometimes as many as a thousand, were brought down from the Luba and neighbouring districts, now forming part of the Congo Free State. They suffered incredible torments from hunger, thirst, sickness, and the cruelty of their drivers. A dealer once admitted that if he got six out of every ten natives to Bihé he was lucky, but sometimes only three survived the journey. This was due not only to the physical strain of tramping nearly seven hundred miles under miserable conditions, but to the fact that the captives were often so hopeless that they refused to eat. Many who were seen to be of no value received a mortal wound, or were left to die of hunger. Cases of incredible cruelty were constantly witnessed. A reliable witness told us that once he was only just in time to save an old woman being killed with an axe. As he was going in the same direction as the caravan he watched over her for some days, then he missed her. She had been left to die in the hungry country. Another time a young girl with sore feet was crying with pain at crossing a river, and when he remonstrated with the man who was beating her the ruffian threatened to kill her. All the unspeakable horrors of slavery, such as our grandfathers heard of, were repeated at the beginning of the twentieth century under a European Government which had abolished the legal status of slavery in all its possessions.

The Bailundo War.

At length, driven to desperation, the natives rose. This was the Bailundo war of 1902. The cause of the war was compulsory recruiting. But the immediate occasion was the treacherous capture of natives, who had been invited to the Bailundo fort by the "capitao mor" to attend a feast and palaver. The war ended as wars between white and black usually end, but it caused great terror among the Portuguese in the colony. Some of the traders captured were treated with great indignity; one man was kept in chains for forty-two days. Dr. Horton and I lunched with a trader on the road who said he had lost much property, and many others shared his fate. One trader at Kavungo lost everything and escaped in his shirt.

Captain Amorim's Reforms.

The war woke the authorities from their sleep. They recognized that even the Angolan native had a limit of endurance, which could only be passed at grave risk to his white masters. An honest enquiry was made into the abuses. Captain Amorim, of the Artillery, passed through the district, liberating natives and punishing offenders. An officer, commanding at Kazenzie, was banished to Mozambique, and some twenty or thirty officials and traders were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. Amorim made himself hated by attacking a system in which nearly every trader and many of the officials were interested.

Retrogression.

The effect of the war was, for a time, to check the traffic, but only for a time. Official figures of the serviçaes exported are not now issued—a significant fact—but 1905 bade fair to approach a record of recent years. The influence of Amorim's commission seems passing. A number of natives liberated by him settled near the fort at Kavungo. Some few of them held letters of freedom. About sixteen of them went to settle at Kazombo, eighteen miles to the south of Kavungo. They were known as "Colonials," and lived peacefully thus for two years, sometimes working for the Portuguese officials. Then the "commandante" at the fort sent and captured the greater part of the population of this colonial village, roped up the women, put the men in chains, and sent them on their way to the fort at Moshico, under the charge of a white man and armed coloured soldiers. The colony at Kazombo nearly shared the same fate, but the man sent to take them prematurely stated his errand, and they escaped before he secured them. On our way to Kavungo we met a number of people going towards the coast. We were told they were runaway slaves, and noticed they were in charge of soldiers armed with chicottes, rifles, and ammunition. One man who was seen by one of our party was tied by his hands and feet, and hung from a pole carried by two men.

Though slavery does not flaunt itself before the eyes of the traveller in Angola as formerly, one has but to travel on the slow boats of the "Empreza Nacional" to see the large number of serviçaes leaving Angola. These boats run monthly, and carry them over by hundreds. They may be seen listlessly lying about the deck, dressed in the cheap new clothes that they have

received. Some have been sold by white masters for faults, others have been picked up one by one by traders and sent down to the coast with rubber; some may have been brought down in gangs, by roads which avoided the forts. One boat I was on had three natives of the Quelengue tribe, who had been caught at night in Benguella. The sources may be small, but they are many, and the stream of black labour flows steadily westward. I have seen many go, but none return, though I have heard of one who was repatriated.

IV.—INDENTURED LABOUR IN OTHER PORTUGUESE COLONIES.

Mozambique.

After finishing the investigation in the islands of S. Thomé and Principe and on the mainland, it seemed well to visit the Portuguese colony of Mozambique on the eastern coast, in order to widen my knowledge of the conditions of coloured labour in Africa, and to acquaint myself with the system adopted in that colony. For this purpose I spent a fortnight at Lorenzo Marques, and was struck by the conditions of labour there obtaining, as contrasted with that on the west coast. Not only were the natives eager to volunteer for work in the Transvaal mines, but I saw them returning to their homes when the period of work for which they had been indentured had expired. From all sides I heard of the free and contented lot of the native in that colony. This was confirmed by further enquiries which I made during a stay of three weeks in the Transvaal.

The Governor-General of Mozambique, to whose kindness I am indebted for much information on native labour, expressed it as his opinion that the methods adopted in Angola were detrimental to the best interests of the colony, and this seems to be the opinion of many other Portuguese.

Cabinda.

I visited Cabinda, and from information gathered there and from considerable knowledge of Cabindas in the islands and on the mainland, I am satisfied that, speaking generally, they enter voluntarily into the contract, and are duly repatriated.

V.—GENERAL CONCLUSIONS.

I must now attempt to sum up the result of my enquiries. It is important at the outset to differentiate between the system of servical labour laid down in royal decrees and the system as it exists in actual working. Of the former I have no complaint to make. It provides for the establishment of official machinery which, if actually set up and honestly worked, would make any grave abuses impossible. But the machinery contemplated has not been brought into being, and the most serious evils, which it was to have prevented, flourish unchecked. The law embodies the well-accepted principle that in order to prevent a system of exported labour from degenerating into slavery, two essentials must be secured, freedom in entering into the contract and opportunity of repatriation when it is ended. After very careful study of the evidence on the spot I am absolutely satisfied that neither of these is in practice obtained in the case of the labourers imported from Angola.

Of the compulsory character of the enlistment there can be no doubt. The labourers sent to the two islands go there against their will. There is no reason why the natives of the interior should wish to leave Angola. No offer of payment would induce them to separate themselves from their homes and families to work, without

hope of return, on the plantations of S. Thomé and Principe. They have not the education nor ambition of the more civilized Cabinda boy, nor are they driven by hunger as are the natives of Cape Verde.

It is indisputable that great numbers of them are brought as captives hundreds of miles from the interior, and that shackles are very extensively used to restrain them, at any rate at night. It is also indisputable that, they are the subjects of a commercial transaction, which, whether it be more accurately described as a commission or as sale, puts a large profit into the pockets of those who engage in it. Moreover the amount paid by the planters, from twenty-five to forty pounds a head, for the *serviçaes* on arrival at the islands is considerably in excess of any legitimate expenses of transit and prosecution.

With regard to repatriation, it is sufficient to say that, though it is clearly provided for by law, in practice it does not exist, and no attempt is made to secure it. I found no evidence that a local committee of Labour and Emigration had ever been formed at S. Thomé, or that any repatriation fund had ever been set up.

I have refrained in detailing my enquiries from referring to the *serviçaes* as slaves or to the servical system as slavery, because, approaching the matter as I did with an open mind, I have wished to avoid question-begging epithets.

But now that I have to state my conclusions, I must use the words which most nearly portray actual facts. I am satisfied that under the servical system as it exists at present, thousands of black men and women are, against their will, and often under circumstances of great cruelty, taken away every year from their homes and transported across the sea to work on unhealthy islands, from which

they never return. If this is not slavery, I know of no word in the English language which correctly characterizes it.

JOSEPH BURTT.

I accompanied Joseph Burtt in the whole of his inland journey in Angola, in 1906, extending over a period of over four months, and as far as my experience goes I can entirely endorse his report, believing that his statements and figures are in no case in excess of fact. I have not visited the Cocoa Plantations in S. Thomé and Principe, but I have seen conclusive evidence that the recruiting of labour in Angola is part of a system of slavery.

*W. CLAUDE HORTON, M.B., Ch.B.,
Children's Hospital,*

July 14, 1907.

Brighton.

APPENDIX B

AT a meeting of the African section of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce, held September 30, 1907, the following resolution was passed :—

“September 30, 1907.

“SLAVERY IN ANGOLA.

“At a meeting of the Committee of the African Trade Section just held, Mr. H. W. Nevinson made a statement on the subject of the slavery in Angola, San Thomé, and Principe, and it was resolved to urge His Majesty’s Government to take at once such steps as lie in their power to abolish the system.

“I am to ask whether your Firm can see its way to abstain from purchasing the Cocoa produced in the Portuguese Territories named.

“(Signed) THOMAS H. BARKER, *Secretary.*”

This was posted to the three cocoa makers at the same time that it was issued broadcast in the Press, and there was therefore no time to give any explanation.

The Liverpool Chamber of Commerce was asked to call a full meeting of its Council to meet the three firms, and the following statement was made by Mr. W. A. Cadbury on behalf of all three firms. The Press were not present by the special wish of the Chamber.

Mr. John Holt, Vice-President of the African section of the Chamber, stated that he considered a great com-

mercial body like their own might on occasion go outside its normal functions, when its members find their hearts moved by the miseries of the oppressed, and may make its voice heard in questions affecting human rights and freedom. He did not deny or excuse the methods of procuring labour for the cocoa plantations in S. Thomé, but asked how they could pose before the world as philanthropists in this matter of Angola when their President is not ashamed to exercise the functions of Consul for the Congo State—we cannot pose as philanthropists in Angola or condemn the iniquities of the Portuguese whilst we are willing to condone the even greater evils in the Congo State, where we have treaty rights and obligations which we can enforce respect for whenever we choose to do so.

Other gentlemen expressed their interest in the matter and satisfaction in the course of action taken, and finally the following resolution was proposed by Mr. Stewart Deacon, Chairman of the Commercial Law Committee of the Chamber of Commerce, and seconded by Mr. Joseph Thorburn, Chairman of the Cotton Committee, and carried unanimously :—

“That this Meeting of the Council of the Chamber of Commerce of Liverpool, while it deplores the state of affairs which apparently exist in Angola, San Thomé, and Principe, having heard the Statement of Mr. William A. Cadbury, Mr. Fry, and Mr. Rowntree, is satisfied with the action being taken by the Foreign Office, and by the three cocoa firms in this important matter.”

The Chairman stated that it was his intention to send out a commission and make an enquiry on his own account. Mr. Cadbury and Mr. Rowntree said that an impartial enquiry made by the Chamber of Commerce

would be at all times welcome ; they had no desire but to arrive at the truth of the matter and press for reform.

STATEMENT

Made by Mr. William A. Cadbury on behalf of Cadbury Bros., Bournville; Fry and Sons, Bristol; and Rowntree and Co., York, to the Council of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce, held on the 21st October, 1907. Sir Alfred L. Jones, K.C.M.G., in the chair.

I wish in the first place to state that we view with every satisfaction the fact that so large a number of members of your Chamber are entering upon the consideration of the great native problems of Africa from the highest standpoint—that of humanity. We feel sure that when a great commercial fraternity undertakes such work as this we may look for progress, and that the investigation of this and other burning questions affecting the African native will be pursued without fear and without favour.

We are particularly glad to have an opportunity of stating our own position in the matter, the more so that we feel that if your African section had been aware of what we have been doing with regard to it during the last four years they would not, without hearing our case, have requested the English firms to abstain from purchasing cocoa produced in the Portuguese Islands. At any rate we think that if your committee had known all the facts they would not have circulated their resolution in the Press without first giving us an opportunity of putting before them our views on the matter. From the letters and numerous enquiries which my own firm alone and its representatives have received since the resolution was

circulated, it is evident that the result of its widespread publication has been to create an impression that the English cocoa firms have done nothing in the matter, and while desiring to ameliorate social conditions here, are content to quietly acquiesce in the production of raw cocoa by slave labour.

As probably a somewhat similar impression has been produced in the minds of many here who knew nothing of the matter until they saw the resolution passed by your African committee, I think it will be right for me to state shortly the steps taken by the English cocoa firms up to the present time.

The methods of recruiting the labourers employed on the cocoa plantations in S. Thomé and Principe and their treatment on these islands first received our serious attention in 1903 when I visited Lisbon and had interviews with the British Minister, the Portuguese Minister of Colonies, and various influential planters. The upshot was that the latter denied the charges of permitting slavery. They alleged that the statements made by Mr. Stober and other missionaries in Angola (from which district labourers for the two islands are mainly obtained) were inaccurate, and they challenged us to send out a man on our own account who, they promised, should have facility to visit every plantation in the islands, and who should bring a first-hand report to us. This was more than a year before Mr. Nevinson's visit to Angola. We obtained the best man we could find (Mr. Joseph Burtt), gave him a thorough training in Portuguese, and my own firm of Cadbury Brothers, in conjunction with Messrs. Fry of Bristol, Rowntree of York, and Stollwerck of Cologne, sent him out to S. Thomé and Principe. He remained there for about six months, visiting a large number of the plantations on both islands.

Mr. Burtt subsequently spent nearly twelve months on the mainland, and, in company with Dr. W. Claude Horton whom we sent out to join him, he took a long journey into the far interior of Angola, from which most of the indentured labourers come, and made an extremely thorough and careful investigation of the whole subject. He returned to this country in April last, after an absence of nearly two years, and his report is now complete.

We are glad of the opportunity of publicly acknowledging the consistent kindness with which Mr. Burtt was received in Angola and the Islands by Government officials and planters, and the facilities they readily gave him to conduct his investigations.

Last year I paid another visit to Lisbon on the matter. I may perhaps say that our investigations into the subject have cost the four firms concerned some thousands of pounds.

Since Mr. Burtt's return we have had several interviews with our own Foreign Office. They have discussed the matter very fully with us, and, though our communications have necessarily been of a confidential character, I may say that they are fully alive to the importance of the matter, and are instructing the British Minister at Lisbon, at an early date, to present a statement on the subject to the Portuguese Government, accompanied by Mr. Burtt's report, and to make enquiries as to what action they propose to take. These steps have been somewhat delayed owing to the recent political crisis in Portugal, and the absence in Africa of their Colonial Minister. Directly after the Portuguese Government has received the report, representatives of the British cocoa makers are to meet Mr. Burtt in Lisbon, and present the report to the planters who asked for the enquiry.

The Foreign Office especially requested us not to pub-

lish the report, or allow ourselves to be drawn into a newspaper agitation in this country until the representation to the Portuguese Government had been made. Owing to the publicity given to the resolution passed by your Committee, the Foreign Office considers that there is now no reason why a statement of our action should not be made public. Mr. Burtt's report must, however, for the present be regarded as confidential. You will, I think, readily understand that the first persons to see it must be the Portuguese Government, and afterwards the planters at whose suggestion our enquiry was set on foot. You will, as business men, appreciate the reasons which caused the Foreign Office to deprecate anything in the nature of a public agitation until their representations had been made to Portugal. In compliance with their request, we have refrained for the present from replying to, or dealing with, the scurrilous statements which have appeared in some newspapers reflecting upon the English cocoa manufacturers, who have been represented as tacitly acquiescing in the production of cocoa by slaves.

We cannot, however, but fear that the action of your committee in just at this moment so publicly denouncing the Portuguese, may have accomplished what the Foreign Office has so much desired to avoid. The Portuguese, as a nation, are justly proud of the rapid development and high standard of cultivation of these islands, which have become one of the most productive cocoa-growing regions of the world. They naturally regard any reflections by foreigners upon the conditions of labour there as prompted by commercial jealousy. You must bear in mind that the public considers a resolution passed by your African Committee as equivalent to one passed by the whole of this important Chamber. That our fears as to the result of your Committee's action are not groundless may be seen

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from the following paragraph which appeared in the *Standard* of October 12th:—

From "Standard," October 12, 1907.

PORTUGAL IN AFRICA.

CHARGES OF PERMITTING SLAVERY.

From our Correspondent.

LISBON, October 11.

“ Considerable resentment has been roused here by reports received from England that charges of permitting slavery have been made against the Portuguese Government. It is stated that at a recent meeting of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce it was alleged that this Government connived at slavery in Portugal’s possessions in Africa; that in consequence of this condition of affairs, merchants were asked to refrain from buying the products of Portuguese Africa; and, further, that a telegram was addressed to the Foreign Office, urging that representation should be made to the Portuguese Government, through the British Ambassador, in favour of the abolition of such a state of affairs.

“ Owing to the wide circulation which these charges have obtained and the feeling of irritation which has found expression in the newspapers, the Government here has instructed its representatives abroad to enquire into the origin of these fables, with a view to proving that they are of malicious origin and without foundation.”

*Extract from letter received from Joseph Burtt, Oporto,
dated October 12, 1907.*

The Portuguese Press is noticing the statements brought forward in the English papers. I quote from *Novidades*, a journal interested in colonial matters:—

“ S. Thomé is the most flourishing colony in the Atlantic, and the best proof of the colonizing genius of the Portu-

guese nation, and so envy creates the calumny that at every step is directed against the system of recruiting labourers for her agriculture."

We have at no time minimized the gravity of the case. Granting that the labour conditions on the islands are infinitely better than in some parts of the African continent, that the best plantations are equipped with excellent hospitals and medical attendance is free, that the hours of labour are not excessive, that the food is ample, that there exist on paper excellent regulations for the repatriation of the labourer—there still remains the unchallenged fact that, of the many thousands of men and women who have been brought from the mainland, nominally under a contract for a short term of years, scarcely any have ever returned. The death-rate among these able-bodied labourers is extremely high, and the birth-rate disproportionately low. There is also no reason to doubt the evidence of reliable eye-witnesses of the gross cruelty attending the collection of this labour in the Hinterland of Angola.

And now I come to the request of your Committee, that the English cocoa firms should at once refrain from purchasing cocoa produced in Portuguese territory. At first sight this might appear a short cut to reform. But there is another side to the question. At the present time the English cocoa firms, as large purchasers of this cocoa, have undoubtedly some influence with the Portuguese planters, and this influence is being exercised. If we decide to buy no more we shall have thrown away our chief weapon, and our views will have no more weight with the Portuguese than those of ordinary members of the public. England is but the fourth largest cocoa-consuming country in the world, and the amount of S. Thomé cocoa used here is not more than about one-twentieth of the world's supply. The whole of this would be very readily

absorbed by other nations, who do not concern themselves with the method of production. I may mention that we asked one of the largest cocoa manufacturers outside this country to join with us in our representations to the Portuguese planters, but we only received a reply that this was a matter in which they took no interest.

In a few months after our refusal to buy things would adjust themselves: the whole of this cocoa would go to other nations, and English imports of cocoa from other districts of production would be proportionately increased, and we as *manufacturers* would have no longer any right to complain of conditions of labour in Portuguese territories.

We have consulted the Foreign Office more than once, as to the wisdom of declining to buy any more S. Thomé cocoa, but they were clearly of opinion that it was unwise for the present to take this step.

The existence of great commercial interests gives our Government a much stronger lever than if the case were based alone on questions of the treatment of native labour in Africa, with regard to which our own country has not always been free from criticism.

We have throughout been in touch with the Anti-Slavery and the Aborigines Protection Societies, and they have concurred with us in our course of action up to the present.

The foregoing statement will have made clear the grounds of the decision of our three firms to continue to purchase African cocoa until we have presented our report to the planters in Lisbon and they have had reasonable time to reply. After that reply has been received we shall most carefully consider what further steps it will be right for us to take in the best interests of the natives of Angola.

APPENDIX C

STATEMENT

Made by Mr. William A. Cadbury on behalf of the English Cocoa Makers to a Committee of the Proprietors of the Cocoa Estates of S. Thomé and Principe.

LISBON, November 28, 1907.

TO THE PROPRIETORS OF THE

COCOA ESTATES OF S. THOMÉ AND PRINCIPE.

GENTLEMEN,—I thank you for meeting me here to-day, and giving me an opportunity of expressing the views of my own firm and other cocoa makers mentioned in my letter of November 12.

On the occasion of my first visit to Lisbon, in 1903, leading proprietors of S. Thomé, whom I had the honour to meet, questioned me as to the authenticity of reports I had heard, and repeated in their presence, as to the conditions of labour in the island cocoa estates, and the method of procuring that labour on the mainland. I was bound to admit that I had but little first-hand proof of such statements, and therefore we more readily accepted your invitation to send out our own commissioner to make an enquiry. I was myself unable to spare the needful time to learn your language and make thorough investigation in Africa, so we asked Mr. Joseph Burtt (a personal friend of twenty years' standing, but not connected in any way with

the cocoa business) to undertake the work on our behalf. His enquiry lasted for nearly two years, and he was accompanied all through Angola by Dr. W. Claude Horton, of Brighton.

I have in my letter taken the opportunity of thanking you and your agents for all the kindness shown to Mr. Burtt; I do so again, with hearty appreciation of that magnanimous hospitality which in England we always connect with the name of Portugal.

The report of Mr. Burtt and Dr. Horton has been placed in your hands, and I need not follow it in its many details. It, however, establishes to us the following facts:—

The large majority of Angola natives who are taken to S. Thomé are brought to the coast and shipped to the islands against their will, and therefore when they allow themselves to be contracted, it is under the force of circumstances and not a voluntary act. The good repatriation laws are still a dead letter, and therefore have not benefited the native, as repatriation from S. Thomé to Angola, with the exception of Cabinda has never taken place.

In addition to all evidence and vital statistics at present available, there are, and always will be until you introduce free labour, innumerable "offences against the person of the native" which it is impossible to trace, but which must be the inevitable result of the present system.

I now wish to refer to that part of Mr. Burtt's report dealing with the islands. It is very agreeable to us to record the excellent treatment on many estates, and we have since read with much interest the publication entitled *The Boa Entrada Plantations*, and have circulated several copies among our friends. We are particularly pleased that at this moment the British public should have an opportunity of studying so good an example of the excellent estates management in S. Thomé. But the death-rate even on

that ideal estate, considering that it is for adult population, is appalling, although I believe that all is being done on the spot by a kind and generous employer to lessen the mortality. I know there are many well-managed estates in S. Thomé, and should wish to consider that, for the sake of argument, every one is managed with the same kindness and fore-thought, but you have still in your island a system that produces a very high death-rate, and a birth-rate so low that every year several thousands of fresh labourers must be imported to fill the ranks of the dead.

In one of your best managed estates the doctor states that most of the mortality is from two diseases—anæmia and dysentery; complaints that are easily developed by people in a depressed mental condition. It is also admitted that the highest death-rate is among the newly arrived labourers, and this is exactly what one would expect when we know that these people are forcibly taken from their homes for work across the sea, without any hope of return.

It is hardly necessary to restate the fact that with the exception of the Cabinda natives there is no repatriation to Angola: the ships that go to the islands crowded with labourers carry none back to their homes. Until the present state of things is changed no argument will persuade the world that this is free labour.

Much will have to be altered before the conditions are perfect, and reforms cannot all be enacted at once, but the essentials of liberty ought to be immediately granted, and these are free contract and equally free repatriation.

That this is not impossible is shown by the just administration of the law in your own colony of Mozambique. Though in the mines the work is harder than on the cocoa plantation, there are plenty of labourers willing to contract for a short term of service with proper payment in the

Transvaal. The British colonies in the West Indies contract with the Indian Government for the supply of coolie labour, and thousands of these men and women are shipped across two oceans, and after five years' service return with their families to their native land with large sums of money in their possession.

When the system of repatriation is established and men and women and children are actually returned to their homes, they will inspire their friends with confidence in the S. Thomé plantations, and the islands would no longer be regarded as the grave from which no man returns. The excellent food, light labour, and good treatment of such an estate as "Boa Entrada" would be a constant topic of conversation in the villages of the interior. The returned native would be the best recruiting agent for new volunteers who would go with light heart to the islands, because they would know that at the end of their contract they would return with money to their friends. Arriving on the plantations in good heart, the number of cases of anæmia and dysentery will be greatly reduced, and the labourer will be kept in better health and spirits by the prospects of return. In any plantations where treatment may not yet be perfect, better management will be at once introduced because the proprietor will know that returning labourers will spread far and wide reports of their good or bad treatment.

We are not asking you to enforce any new standard of freedom ; many years ago Portugal and Great Britain, with other Powers, signed the Brussels Act, agreeing "to protect effectively the aboriginal populations of Africa," and abolish for ever the last remnants of slavery from their dominions. The abuses which are still taking place in your colony of Angola are, I believe, not an indication that the Portuguese nation has relinquished this high standard of liberty, rather are they the last traces of a bad system that you all deplore,

and will, I believe, remove with a strong hand, so that it shall not be possible to associate the name of slavery with that of your great nation.

We have always been buyers of S. Thomé cocoa, and in the hope of continuing for many years your business friends, we respectfully urge upon you the need for reforms, all of which will, we believe, be accomplished when throughout Angola and the islands you have established free labour and free repatriation.

Misleading statements as to our motives have appeared in the Portuguese newspapers, due, we believe, to a lack of complete information. The suggestions of commercial jealousy are as absurd and as far from possible truth as that the English cocoa makers wish to buy your S. Thomé estates ; we need our capital in our own business. There have been many other incorrect statements as to our motives, all we are sure from simple misunderstanding, and as they appear to us irrelevant, we hope we may be forgiven if we neglect them.

Plentiful supplies of good cocoa are of the greatest benefit to the manufacturer, and we have always welcomed the good progress of the S. Thomé estates. Much as we should regret to lose the opportunity of buying your excellent cocoa, and even knowing that it would entail to us financial loss, speaking at least for my own firm, our conscience would not allow us to go on purchasing raw material for our business, unless we are assured that in the future it is to be produced by free labour.

We plead for strong and immediate action, and confidently trust that the agriculturists, who have by their courage and energy done so much in one generation to raise the island of S. Thome to a colony of the foremost rank, will assist their able administrators to banish from their estates the remnants of a bad system, and establish in

the ancient colony of Angola a standard of true freedom, worthy of the nation which first explored the shores of Africa, and is counted among the greatest colonizing Powers of the earth

On behalf of the English cocoa makers,

Yours faithfully,

WILLIAM A. CADBURY.

APPENDIX D

THE following are the seven conclusions at the end of the reply of the S. Thomé proprietors issued in December, 1907. They were drawn up after the Conference, at which no official minutes were made or report issued :—

1. The planters are possessed of the same liberal and humane sentiment as Mr. Cadbury, and it is entirely contrary to their intention to place any difficulties in the way of the repatriation of those labourers who wish to return to their homes, and they would be glad if some would return and carry back to their country the accounts of the treatment they have received in the islands.
2. Mr. Cadbury freely acknowledges the ample evidence of kind treatment on the plantations, and recognizes that a large number of labourers may wish to stay in S. Thomé to enjoy regular work and pay, rather than return to a precarious life in Angola.
3. The repatriation fund, which now amounts to about £100,000, will, by the wish of the planters, be transferred to the Colonial Bank in S. Thomé, as agents of the State, on 31 December, 1907, to be administered by the local Committee of Emigration under the superintendence of the Government.

Each repatriated labourer will receive about £18 upon landing in Angola. Those who wish to renew

their contract will receive 10 per cent increase in wages, and their capital (£18) will be returned to them in quarterly instalments of 6 per cent. A new repatriation fund will then be started for each labourer. The first contracts of service made under the law of January, 1903, will expire in the first half of the year 1908.

4. The planters of S. Thomé and Principe have no intention of asking the Government, in future emigrations of labourers from other Portuguese colonies, to exclude under any circumstances the right of repatriation. This right is already granted by the existing laws.
5. It is stated that the Colonial Minister is sending to Angola, on 7 January, 1908, his "chief of staff" to personally investigate any irregularities that are found to exist in the present system of recruiting.
6. The Portuguese Government has recently taken action, and is still proceeding in an energetic and efficacious manner to establish obedience to the law in those regions in Angola formerly outside its control.
7. The particulars of information collected by Mr. Burtt in S. Thomé and Principe and accepted in good faith by him were not always an exact expression of truth.

APPENDIX E

(Referred to on page 84.)

FORM No.

Regulation of 29th January, 1903.

PROVINCE OF ANGOLA.

CURADOR'S OFFICE, NOVO REDONDO.

No.

Labour Contract.

ON the.....day in the month of
 nineteen hundred and.....in the year
 in this Curador's office at Novo Redondo, and in the
 presence of the Curador of labour,.....
there appeared,
 on the one part, as the first contracting party,.....
represented by the
 delegate of the official agent of emigration for S. Thomé
 and Principe.....; ;
 and on the other part, as second contracting party, the
 native.....
 OF MASCULINE SEX, of.....probable
 years of age, a native of.....,,
 village of.....in the

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municipality of Novo Redondo, who has the following characteristics : height one metre.....

And there being present with the witnesses herein-after named, the nominated and duly sworn interpreter
the first contracting party, in the position of master legally represented by the delegate of the above-mentioned agent, and the second, in the position of labourer, did confirm the contract in accordance with the following clauses and conditions :

1st. The labourer, as the second contracting party, contracts with the first contracting party his services for AGRICULTURAL work which he agrees to carry on in the island of at the plantation of therein situate FOR THE TERM OF FIVE YEARS in accordance with the terms of article 31 of the regulation of 29th January, 1903 ;

2nd. That the master, as first contracting party, undertakes to give to the labourer, the second contracting party, food, clothes, roofed and healthy lodging, and a wage of Two THOUSAND FIVE HUNDRED REIS A MONTH, he receiving at the time an advance of reis, and agreeing that shall be placed in the public treasury of this province of Angola in the terms of Article 32 of the decree of January 29, 1903, with an amount of reis, to be taken by the respective agent in order to be delivered to the family of the contracted labourer ; and moreover, he agrees to discharge towards him the general duties of a beneficent guardian, to see that he is not supplied with damaged or unsuitable food, and to protect him by good

and reasonable discipline, from drunkenness, gambling, and other vices that would injure him.

3rd. The master undertakes to assist the labourer in sickness, to give him liberty to buy any articles he may wish, where and how he will; to repatriate him at the expiration of the term of this contract, if not renewed; and also undertakes to carry out the dispositions of Articles 26, 36, 41 in detail, and the further obligations decreed by the regulation on native labour of July 16, 1902, and the decree of January 29, 1903.

4th. That the labourer, the second contracting party, undertakes to work TEN HOURS each day, and not leave the plantation without permission from his master, unless to appeal to the authorities or for the fulfilment of obligatory public duties, to respect and obey his master and the employees who superintend his work; to be diligent in service and watchful of his master's goods; to indemnify him from losses and injuries caused to him by wrong doing, mistakes, or carelessness; to live peaceably with his comrades, and finally to fulfil all duties in accordance with the cited regulation and the aforesaid decree.

Taking into consideration its spontaneity, the assent of the parties was confirmed by the Curador, who ratified this contract, its conditions not being contrary to law or morality, at the same time explaining the reciprocal duties and obligations of the contracting parties, and after verifying, by means at his disposal, the identity of the contracting labourer who freely enters into this contract.

Thus declared and accepted in the presence of the witnesses

.....
living in this town of Novo Redondo, who sign with the Curador and Interpreter, the labourer, being unable to

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write, not signing, and to whom is to be delivered the
respective register after reading this form.

I,.....
Scrivener, have subscribed it.

THE CURADOR,

Contracting agent or his delegate.....

Interpreter.....

Witnesses . . .

Scrivener of the Curador's office

Paid in the estate office of Novo Redondo the emolument of 1500 reis.
Guide No..... for the despatch of the emigration service.

References

.....

Statements

APPENDIX F

(Referred to on page 84.)

COUNTERFOIL N.....

PROVINCE OF ANGOLA.

THE CURADOR'S OFFICE AT.....on the.....
 day of.....190...in this (a).....in (b)
before (c).....on behalf of.....
 and the labourer.....of the.....sex of.....
 probable years of age, a native of.....son of
and of.....agreed to the following con-
 ditions :—

1st. That the labourer agrees to contract his work
in.....that his master owns in.....
 for the term of.....years from this date.

2nd. That the master agrees to give him food, clothes,
 roofed and healthy lodging, and a monthly salary of.....
 reis, fulfilling towards him the general duties of a benefi-
 cent guardian.

3rd. To assist the labourer in sickness, to give him
 liberty to buy where he will, to repatriate him at the
 expiration of the term of this contract, if not renewed,
 and to fulfil the further conditions of the Regulation of
 26th July, 1902.

4th. The labourer agrees to work.....hours every day,
 and not go out without permission from his master, ex-
 cepting to appeal to the authorities, or to fulfil public
 and obligatory duties ; to respect and obey his master and

the employees ; to be diligent in service and watchful of his master's goods ; to indemnify him for loss and injury caused by wrong doing, mistakes, or carelessness ; to live quietly with his comrades, and finally to fulfil all duties in accordance with the cited regulation.

All these conditions were approved by (c).....
who agreed to the term of contract, by the interpreter
.....and by witnesses.....
.....
living in this city. And I..... amanuensis
have signed it.

The (c).....
.....

- (a) City, town, village of.....
- (b) The office, or the delegated office of the labour curator
- (c) Curador, or delegate of curador.

APPENDIX G

CLAUSES TAKEN FROM THE S. THOMÉ LABOUR DECREE OF 1908.

Chapter VII. Wages and Pay.

Art. 52. The repatriation bonus, to which every labourer is entitled at the termination of his contract, shall be handed over on board the ship, at his arrival at the port of origin, in the presence of the Emigration Agent and the Commander.

Before going on board the ship in S. Thomé, the labourer to be repatriated shall receive a note, signed by the Accountant of the Treasury, and initialled by the President (th Curador) and one member of the Board of Labour, showing the amount to be received at the port of origin.

Art. 54. The forcible collection of . . . the amount needed for the return passages shall be made by the administrative authorities (from the employer) in the same manner, etc. . . .

Art. 55. The Emigration Agents and their deputies more especially, and in general all local authorities shall do all in their power to protect the repatriated servícaes, from the port of landing to their own destination, to the intent that they shall not be cheated or robbed of the fruits of their labour.

Chapter VIII.

Art. 58—note. In cases of repatriation, the money belonging to each labourer shall be taken charge of by the Government Commissioners, who will accompany the labourers to their port of origin.

APPENDIX H

THE Annual Report of the Transvaal, Native Affairs Department, for the year ending June 30, 1906, gives the following figures:—

The total number of natives from Portuguese territory working in the Transvaal—

	On June 30, 1905.	On June 30, 1906.
In mines and works	59,766	57,004
Other employment	<u>5,859</u>	<u>5,999</u>
Total	65,625	63,003

The total number of natives working in the labour district of the Transvaal, from all parts including the Portuguese territories—

	On June 30, 1905.	On June 30, 1906.
Mines, etc.	107,906	92,895
Other employment	<u>75,537</u>	<u>78,118</u>
	183,443	171,013

The death-rate is given in districts as follows for year 1905-6:—

Portuguese, non-tropical	35·8	per thousand.
, tropical, Mozambique	65·8	, ,
, , Quillimane	71·6	, ,

The mortality among all natives employed in mines and works is given as follows :—

	Disease.	Accident.	Total per 1000.
1903-4	55.21	3.91	59.11
1904-5	41.46	4.46	45.92
1905-6	38.26	5.64	43.90

showing a general mortality in the Transvaal mines of less than half that in the agricultural work in S. Thomé.

Passes for return home were issued as follows in the year 1905-6 :—

From mines, etc.	75,298
Other employment	68,059
Total	143,357

The Report on Transvaal Native Affairs, 142 pages in all, gives many particulars of interest, and some that show the inherent weakness of the best system of contract labour. The desertion from the mines is quite a noticeable feature of the report, showing 48.7 deserters per 1000 of the labourers employed from Portuguese territory.

Translation.

APPENDIX I

GENERAL CONDITIONS FOR THE ENGAGEMENT OF NATIVES OF THE PROVINCE OF MOZAMBIQUE FOR SERVICE IN S. THOMÉ AND PRÍNCIPE. DECEMBER 15, 1908.

1. The first contracts entered into shall be for a period of one year of continuous service in the plantations, in order to establish confidence in the natives and also a steady flow of immigration, thereby facilitating future engagements which shall be for terms of from two to three years.
2. For each labourer contracted there shall, so far as possible, be likewise engaged one of his wives, from whom he shall in no case be separated.
3. The cost of repatriation falls in all cases upon the employers at the termination of the engagement, and in terms of Article 51 of the general regulations. Children of natives born on the plantations during their parents' contract shall be entitled to repatriation with such parents.
4. The minimum monthly wage of men shall be 3·500 reis (equal to 14s. at the rate of 5·000 reis to £1), and of women 2·000 reis (8s.), varying in the case of young girls from twelve to sixteen years of age as low as 1·500 reis (6s.) to 2·500 reis (10s.). The actual amount payable, however, depends on the robustness of the individual and the nature of his or her work.

In terms of Article 50 *et seq.* of the Decree of the 29th January, 1903, natives receive in S. Thomé two fifths of the minimum wages authorised by law, the balance being reserved for payment on return to Mozambique in conformity with Articles 36 and 52 of the general regulations. The Curador's Department must deliver to each worker a document showing the amount due to him, independent of the nominal roll of balances due sent to the paying Agent (at Mozambique).

5. Planters will employ all possible means to insure that the labourers are well treated and return satisfied to their homes, since by these means alone a stream of immigration to S. Thomé can be established.

6. For each group of labourers requisitioned by a planter there shall be engaged a native overseer (*capataz*), who shall serve as interpreter and accompany the immigrants. Should it not be possible to fix immediately the amount of his remuneration, this shall be adjusted by the Immigration Agent in accordance with his abilities.

7. The Immigration Agent shall undertake to deliver all required immigrants on board the steamer of the Empreza Nacional line at Mozambique, Angoche, Quelimane, or Chinde, duly vaccinated and examined by the proper health authority, against a fixed amount of remuneration for each individual either male or female, he being answerable for all costs and expenses of food and clothing of all labourers up to the date of their embarkation.

If, however, in the first contracts there shall be any unforeseen expenditure which shall be satisfactorily explained by the Agent, the planters shall duly pay the same.

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8. Should a labourer and his wife be accompanied by sons or daughters of less than twelve years of age the Agent shall receive no remuneration for these minors; if between the ages of twelve and sixteen, the Agents shall receive 12·500 reis ($\text{£}2\ 10\text{s.}$) for each of them.

9. For each additional year of engagement the Agent shall receive an additional sum of 3·760 reis (15s.) for each adult and 2·500 reis (10s.) for each minor.

10. All travelling expenses from whatsoever port of the Mozambique Province to S. Thomé or Principe, as also those of return thence, shall be paid by the engaging planters or other persons who may engage the labourers, without, however, making reduction of any kind in their wages.

11. The Agent shall draw upon the planters or their representatives in Lisbon for the amount of their remuneration for the number of labourers engaged, bills being drawn at sight and against a check-list of immigrants handed over.

Lisbon, 21st February, 1908.

The Official Immigration Agent.

(Signed) JOSE THEODORO DE BASTO.

Addendum.

Labourers from Mozambique landed in S. Thomé are considered as equivalent to a sum of 50.000 reis ($\text{£}10$) due to the recruiter.

APPENDIX J

(Issued to the Press on March 17th, 1909.)

LABOUR ON THE COCOA PLANTATIONS OF S. THOME AND PRINCIPE.

MR. William A. Cadbury returned to England last week from a journey, extending over five months, to the Portuguese Islands of S. Thomé and Principe, and to the mainland of Angola, in which he was accompanied by Mr. Joseph Burtt.

The object of his visit was to ascertain to what extent the promises of reform made to him at Lisbon in December 1907 by the Portuguese Government had been carried out. These promises were the result of the presentation to the Government and the Estate Proprietors of the report of Mr. Joseph Burtt and Dr. W. Claude Horton. It will be remembered that these gentlemen were sent out in 1905 by the three principal English cocoa firms and a leading German firm to investigate the conditions of indentured labour in S. Thomé and Principe, and the methods by which it was recruited in Angola, and that their enquiry lasted nearly two years.

Mr. Cadbury has found that no adequate steps have yet been taken to remedy the evils proved to exist. He intends very shortly to publish a full narrative of his investigations.

His report has been carefully considered by the three firms on whose behalf he went out:—Messrs. Cadbury Bros., Ltd., Bournville; Messrs. J. S. Fry & Sons, Ltd., Bristol; and Messrs. Rowntree & Co., Ltd., York. These

firms have come to the conclusion that the time has now arrived when they must mark, by definite action, their disappointment at the failure of the Portuguese Government to fulfil the pledges of reform, on the strength of which they agreed for a time to continue commercial relations with the Islands.

They have therefore decided not to make any further purchases of the cocoa produced in the Islands of S. Thomé and Principe.

They will watch with sympathetic interest any efforts which may be made by the Portuguese Government or by the Estate Proprietors to remedy the evils of the existing system. They will be prepared to reconsider their decision as to purchase, when they are satisfied that such reforms have been carried out, as to secure to the indentured labourers from Angola, not merely on paper but in actual fact, freedom in entering into the contract of service and full opportunity of returning to their homes when the contract expires.

NOTE.—On the following day this further notice was issued :—

Messrs. Stollwerck Bros., chocolate manufacturers, of Cologne, who have from the first been associated with the principal British manufacturers in the investigation of labour conditions on the cocoa plantations of the Portuguese Islands of S. Thomé and Principe, have expressed their desire to be united with them in the action they are taking in suspending commercial relations until the promised reforms are carried out in the islands. They wish, however, to acknowledge the efforts which they feel some of the planters are making in the required direction.

Refer to pages 40-44.

“Pay” and “Shops”

I have seen it stated that in S. Thomé a system of tokens is sometimes used, these being redeemable only at the estate shop. I have no evidence of any kind that this is a fact, having seen the national coinage on several estates. The system, however, is still practised in Angola, and such an abuse of the public liberty should certainly be immediately stopped by instructions of the Government.

AN ADDED CHAPTER

MARCH TO NOVEMBER, 1909

SINCE the beginning of this year, the Portuguese Government has received the report of its commissioner, Commander Paula Cid, which, however, has not been presented to the Portuguese public. The Government issued, in July, 1909, a new code of laws, the chief clauses of which aim at an improved method of regulating Angola recruitment. The new Act, chap. 5, article 59, authorizes the Governor-General of Angola to temporarily suspend recruiting, but does not check the shipment of labourers already recruited. Thus I have evidence from an eye-witness, that while we are officially informed that recruiting in Angola was suspended in July, 1909, on the 19th of August, 1909, there were landed from the *Ambaca*, at the port of S. Thomé, serviçaes from Angola, 100 to 150 in number, including men, women, children and infants. No doubt it will be said that these labourers were "already recruited," but it serves to show the futility of mere regulations.

The new code of native labour regulations is notable for serious omissions. There is no provision for married labourers contracted at different dates

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returning from S. Thomé, consequently such couples, which are certainly the rule and not the exception, must stay for ever on the plantations as heretofore. No new provision is made for children either as emigrants or as born on the estates ; the former will doubtless be transported as in the past, without comment on the Government returns : children born in S. Thomé will remain in permanent and constant service till death, as has admittedly been the case in the past.

From the new law, which is very voluminous and wordy, I extract a section of the preamble and some of the principal clauses :—

Official Government Gazette, July 19th, 1909.

Preamble. The emigration agents are not State officials, they have direct and exclusive responsibilities, under control of the authorities. Repatriation is not compulsory, but the outcome of the inherent right of the native, in accordance with the fundamental legal principle of the State, to re-contract himself or not. Essentially liberal, this principle is embodied in all Portuguese legislation relative to the natives, especially in the historic decree of 29th April, 1875, which definitely did away with the state of slavery of the black race in the Portuguese dominions, completing the civilizing and humanitarian work which Portugal had the honour of starting at the end of the eighteenth century, and which she has tenaciously followed in the nineteenth.

(*Colonial Office,
Lisbon, 17th July, 1909.*)

Chapter IV. Agencies.

Art. 21, § 4. The following agencies are established :—

Loanda, with delegations at Ambriz and Dondo.

Benguela.

Novo Redondo.

Cabinda.

Ambaca, with a delegation at Malange.

Mozambique, with delegations at Memba and Lourio.

Quelimane, with delegations at Angocha.

Tete, with a delegation at Chinde.

Inhambane.

Lourenço Marques.

Bolama, with delegations at Bissau and Cachen.

S. Thiago (Cape Verde), with delegations in all the Leeward Islands.

S. Vincent (Cape Verde), with delegations in all the Windward Islands.

Macau.

Nova Goa, with delegations at Salsete, Bardez, and Novas Conquistas.

Art. 23. In order to obtain the permits to recruit, agents must first sign a document :—

(e) To abstain from using violent or fraudulent means either directly or indirectly, to induce natives to engage as labourers.

Chapter V. Recruitment in Angola: Recruiting Agents.

Art. 29. The Governor-General of Angola shall issue without loss of time a provincial decree stating how many natives of either sex may be recruited annually within each recruiting zone for agricultural, industrial, or domestic work.

Art. 42. Recruiting agents are expressly forbidden :—

(3) To convey recruits to the coast who, to their knowledge, have been forced to engage by native chiefs.

(4) To employ unauthorized Europeans or natives as assistants in recruiting labourers.

(5) To divert natives from the purpose for which they have been recruited, or to compel them to carry their own loads or those of others.

(6) To disturb or cause disturbance to public order : to commit any act of violence or fraud which might be prejudicial to the Government or to the natives.

Art. 52. The contracting agent shall establish and maintain at his own expense dépôts in healthy conditions at the places designated by the Governor-General, for the accommodation of labourers on their way to the coast and of those returning to their country.

Chapter VI. Contracts.

Art. 60, § 2. At the time of signing contracts the authorities shall ascertain whether all legal formalities and regulations have been complied with, and whether

the labourers sign of their own free will, and they shall also make every effort to obtain all possible information for the complete identification of contracted labourers.

Chapter VII. Transport.

Art. 70. All vessels conveying repatriated labourers must carry a Government commissioner appointed *ad hoc* by the Governor of S. Thomé; the commissioner must carry repatriation “bonus,” and must be careful to ascertain that the labourers are landed at their proper port of destination, where the said “bonus” will be handed over to them in the presence of the curator. He will then draw up a statement to the effect in triplicate to be signed by the competent officials and by two witnesses.

Chapter VIII. Wages and Salaries.

Art. 91. After the monthly payments have been made, the masters shall forward to the curator-general the duplicates of the wages sheets. The curator will then endorse these duplicates, and transmit them to the fund department, where they will be kept and filed. The wages sheet for the month of December must be accompanied by a list in duplicate containing a general résumé of the net wages of each labourer put aside during the year to be paid into the fund.

Art. 93. Administrative authorities and emigration agents are bound to protect repatriated labourers, in order that on landing and until they arrive at their

destination they shall not be defrauded or deprived of their belongings.

Art. 95, § 1. The renewal of contracts shall only be permitted after the curator has ascertained that such is the express desire of the labourer, that he is ready to sign on of his own free will, and that, besides other provisions, the following rules are observed :—

(d) The governor, having complied with the application, shall forthwith forward it to the curator or his deputy, who shall post notices on the door of the departmental office, at least one week beforehand, stating the day, hour, and place for the signature of the contracts and the name of the employer and inviting interested persons to be present.

(e) The renewal of contracts being made in public, neither the curators, if such acts are effected in his department, nor the agriculturists, if they are effected on their estates, may prevent the entrance of any persons wishing to be present, so long as such persons do not interfere or cause disturbance.

(f) The renewal of labourers' contracts shall only be effected in the presence of the curator-general at S. Thomé and of his deputy in the island of Principe, assisted by one of the curator's staff, two witnesses, and a sworn interpreter, who shall never be selected from amongst the persons serving under the employer in question ; the labourers themselves must also be present.

Art. 96. A fresh contract having been signed the labourer will henceforward receive his wages in full, the "bonuses" already due remaining in deposit with the labour and repatriation fund until he is repatriated.

Chapter IX. Labour and Repatriation Fund.

Art. 97, § 5. The Finance department at S. Thomé shall publish a monthly balance sheet of the fund.

Chapter XI. Miscellaneous and Temporary Provisions.

Art. 112. Natives of Africa who under Article 256 of the Penal Code have been condemned as vagrants may be compelled to contract for agricultural work in S. Thomé and Principe under these regulations.

Art. 117. All surplus receipts remaining in the coffers of the labour and emigration fund, after the expenses and charges mentioned in these regulations have been defrayed, are to be applied to the establishment and upkeep of agricultural and industrial schools in the province of S. Thomé and Principe.

Art. 124. Neither the curator at S. Thome, or his delegate at Principe, nor any other official department may levy any fees for the repatriation of labourers. No payment may be exacted for passes, certificates of origin, or any other documents.

Art. 125. The curator-general at S. Thomé shall, at the beginning of each year, forward a list of the labourers deceased in the preceding year to the local curators, so that notification may be given to the chiefs or relatives concerned.

§ 1. Every planter is bound to report the death of labourers on his plantation to the curator at S. Thomé or his delegate at Principe, and forward burial certificates in duplicate.

Art. 127. At the curator-general's department at S. Thomé a statistical service shall be organized as soon as possible, which shall cover every subject

connected with native labour, births, deaths, diseases, movements of the labouring population, as well as anything which may be of any scientific interest.

Art. 129. These regulations will come into force three months after their publication.

From newspapers in Portugal and Angola I abstract the following remarks upon the above new code of regulations :—

Economista, July 25th, 1909. The new regulation for native labour in our colonies was published on 17th inst., based on official information, in the reports presented by Counsellor Paula Cid, who went on a special mission for the Government to S. Thomé and Angola to enquire directly into the affair.

It is the third regulation published in the columns of the *Government Gazette* within the short space of about a year, but without perhaps contributing to definitely settling the question of native labour, although the new Act contains material untouched upon in its predecessors of 1903 and 1908.

Our impression of the new regulation is that it is extremely confusing, and somewhat careless in its compilation.

The new regulation is fairly long, the first four chapters, which respectively deal with *General Regulations, Work and Emigration Commission, Rules of Distribution, and Agencies*, do not differ appreciably from the regulation of 31st December, 1908. In chapter 5—*Recruiting in Angola, and Recruiters*—we encounter new material, which we are going to condense.

For recruiting servícias the province will be divided into “recruiting zones.” The Governor-General of

Angola has to find the shortest passages between the "zones" and the port of embarkation of the workers, these journeys being compulsory whenever the recruiting agents have to conduct *serviçaes* to the coast, thus guaranteeing them as far as possible, says the regulation, the superintendence exercised by the administrative authorities during the journey.

The recruiting agents appointed by the present decree will have of necessity to be Portuguese citizens with a knowledge of the language of the country, and must carry a licence from the curator, valid only for two years, and within the zone stated thereon.

Each levy of *serviçaes* conducted to the coast will be accompanied by a "transit guide" passed by the administrative authority, to enable the recruits to be identified, and entered on the "registers," which are kept at the "workers' depôts," depôts which have to be kept up by the emigration agents for the lodging of the recruits before going to their final destination.

The chiefs who assist in the recruiting are responsible for escaped *serviçaes* *en route*, unless the flight has been actuated from reasons of bad treatment. They must either substitute the fugitive by another worker, or forego the gratuity of six dollars to which they are entitled for every person recruited.

In each zone the number of workers to be recruited annually will be fixed, the enrolment made for the hut tax serving as a base for estimation, whenever the Governor of the province does not determine this number, having in view the necessity of guaranteeing in the province the services of carriers and the particular work of the villages.

Bases are established for the statistics of the movement of entry and exit of *serviçaes* in the province,

and there is a rule that the Governor of the chief city can, from reasons of public order, temporarily stop the recruiting operations in any port, or all over the province, the agents having no right of veto.

As is seen, the chief object of the legislator consisted essentially in aiming at surrounding the recruiting in Angola with guarantees.

Chapter 5 contains special regulations for the province of Angola, and its inclusion in a regulation which, according to the same Art. 130, is put down as "*General*," appears to us to be somewhat forced, and even contradictory, seeing that it prohibits the Governor-General of Angola, in the supplementary regulation which he is forced to comply with, from introducing any regulations which he thinks proper, and which perhaps would clash with the strict regulation decreed from the Palace. For other provinces the respective governors can control the local recruiting as they judge best. For Angola this is almost prohibited because the Governor-General can only concern himself with very small details.

What is the motive for this inequality between the various colonial provinces? Is it that they wish to avoid a direct intervention on the part of the Governor-General of Angola in the regulations for recruiting workers?

The "recruiting zones" must certainly include the most populous districts of the administrative circles indicated in Art. 27, and as a natural consequence of this, the recruiters will have to work simultaneously in different chiefdoms, seeing that there will not be one recruiter for each zone (Art. 31). Under these circumstances, how will it be possible for the adminis-

trative authority to exercise its supervision over recruiting operations taking place simultaneously by different people in various places, and how will it be able to authenticate the identity of the natives enrolled?

We believe that the gift of omnipresence cannot easily be decreed by these administrative authorities, and it will either be a case of their blindly relying on the interested declarations of the recruiters, or, with scrupulously strict authorities, recruiting will only be carried on when the authorities are in a position, in any slight rest from their official labours, to actually carry out the direct supervision laid down. In the first place, the superintendence is positively illusive, and therefore useless to the regulation; in the second, the recruiting can only take place during the few hours of leisure which the administration gives to the really conscientious authorities.

Another query. By Art. 31 recruiters are nominated by the governors of the districts, but by Art. 35 the licences to the same recruiters come from the curators. Now, being granted by different authorities, of what use is the nomination if the curator will not pass the licence, and of what value is the licence if the Governor refuses the nomination? What guarantee is there that these two authorities will always agree on the capabilities, and the other necessary qualifications of the candidates for positions of recruiters which Art. 31 deals with?

Art. 57 says that when workers are shipped to S. Thomé and Principe, they must be accompanied by an interpreter for each levy, who understands both Portuguese and Ambundo.

Supposing the legislator, in writing Ambundo, wished to refer to Kimbundu, spoken almost all over Loanda, and in a part of Lunda, it happens that, satisfying the

requirements of the law, the interpreter can neither understand, nor be understood by, the natives of Benguela and Cabinda, who are already being recruited, and much less the future serviçaes engaged in Mossamedes and Cuamato.

Voz de Angola, Loanda, July 4, 1909.—Not only are they (the workers) enslaved to an unending work, under the most repugnant methods of exploitation, but also the children they now have, and those that will be born to them. The draw-net in which they are caught has no meshes through which the young ones may escape !

In this fearful decree there is not a single article, not a single word, which provides for the safeguard of the interests and liberty of the orphans,—but what is read there is everything sufficing for forcing these orphans to slavery, like all the children of the contracted labourers which may be born in the golden province.

There are no children, no parents, no law of succession, no social or human rights ; there is nothing ; what exists there is . . . an animal, belonging to the master, under the control of the master—and as this animal becomes absolutely necessary, it is, materially speaking, treated as well as can be, so that it does not fail to give the largest amount of production and reproduction.

Conscience, free-will, dignity, social rights, these are all prerogatives of people, but not of native serviçaes.

Recent information direct from the islands is scarce, but a little news finds its way into the Portuguese papers, and from these reports I copy the following:—

Seculo, Lisbon, August 9, 1909. In the revolt of the natives of Mozambique, which occurred in S. Thomé, it appears that there was one death (i.e. one killed) and many wounded. The cause of the revolt was that the said natives had been deceived by one of the contractors, who, after telling them that they were contracted for *one* year, was trying to make them fulfil a *three* year contract.

When the Government received a telegram from S. Thomé with this information, telegraphic orders were sent that necessary measures should be taken to put a stop to the revolt, and arranging that the repatriation of the natives should take place according to whatever might be right.

Economista, August 15, 1909. In S. Thomé the black colonists are beginning to understand that they have rights and to remember that they ought to have them respected. It is said that there was a mutiny of the serviços in that island, which resulted in the employment of force against them, there being a few casualties.

According to our reports the *Diario de Noticias* relates that the grave matter, which we were the first to notice under reserve, occurred in the south of the island of S. Thomé. About one hundred natives revolted and marched on the city, claiming their rights and creating disturbances on the way, and were called to order, not without there being some killed and wounded. The natives were ordered to be re-

patriated by the Government at the expense of the owners of the plantations in question.

It is known now, says the *Diario da Tarde*, what the revolt, the famous revolt of S. Thomé, was. A hundred blacks who were working on the cocoa plantations, after long nights of conspiracy, in which they asked for either liberty or death, on a certain morning started to march on the city with the intention of taking it. On the way, the revolution having already broken out, they created disturbances, and with much shouting asked to be repatriated. There were lamentable conflicts, but the revolutionaries conquered, because they were repatriated at the expense of the owners of the plantations.

In S. Thomé the Mozambique natives contracted in their country for *one* year have revolted (!), because the philanthropic planters wished to make them work another *two*. The Minister of the Navy ordered the repatriation of these *serviças* at the expense of the planters, for which he merits our applause; but it is necessary to find out whether these contracts, in which the engagement for three years was written down, were falsified in S. Thomé or Mozambique. Punishment is necessary; the emigration agents and the large companies of East Africa cannot go on trying to practise slavery as individuals in Angola have done. To engage workers for one year under fixed conditions, and to afterwards take advantage of the ignorance of the natives to write different terms and clauses in the contracts, besides being a violation of the laws, is something that in our opinion deserves punishment. Where did these natives come from? We believe from Lower Zambesia, where the intelligent blacks who are in constant contact with Europeans cannot

be easily mystified. It was this that was of value to them. And thus, by this procedure, for their account, and for the account of their emigration agents, the S. Thomé growers lost, or ran the risk of losing, the engagement of useful and diligent blacks, very superior to those of Angola. What devilry !

It is necessary to investigate the responsibilities of falsification, and for the recruiters and agents who did the deceiving to be duly punished.

The *Diario de Notícias*, and afterwards almost all the daily papers of the capital, report that rather serious events have taken place in S. Thomé, in consequence of some of the workers from the province of Mozambique having revolted, and it is reported that a plantation employé—a captain, or some such official—fell a victim to the mutineers.

The official organ of the Government, appearing not to attach much importance to the matter, gives in a mere "echo" the following information, which we copy in full, and which, as is seen, does not clear up the matter :—

"A few days ago some serviçaes on a plantation, who had been contracted in Mozambique, marched to the city with the object of lodging a complaint against the fact that their contracts mentioned the term of three years instead of one, which they said they had accepted.

"On the way there were some disturbances, which the authorities soon settled, re-establishing quietness, which continues.

"The claim of the serviçaes is being investigated, who, in any case, will be repatriated as soon as they complete the year."

Reading and re-reading slowly the unruffled official version, it is inferred with some surprise that at the same time as it is proceeding with investigations of the reason for the claim of the *serviças*, the Government "in any case" is not waiting the result of these investigations, and immediately orders, with or without reason, the *serviças* concerned in the revolt to be repatriated as soon as they complete the year.

Let us suppose for a hypothesis, which we hardly admit in our consciences, that the authorities—the curator—carefully ascertained whether the legal stipulations were fulfilled, whether the workers consented freely, whether any pressure had been exercised on them, and whether the same curator obtained all the necessary information for the perfect identification of the contracted *serviças*. In this case the *serviças* who have now revolted had signed their contracts with perfect knowledge for three years, and have no reason for making claims by violent means, and the Government unadvisedly gives them immediate satisfaction, which besides slighting the curator before whom the contracts were made, represents a stimulus for future revolts by *serviças* who for the least cause of discontentment will rebel, so as by this means to be repatriated. Seeing that, besides the abundance of labour, the stability of the workers is an essential condition of existence for any of the important agricultural enterprises of S. Thomé and Principe, the inconsiderate action of the Government will certainly contribute to disturb the conditions of economic life of the plantations, and without doubt the Central Commission of Work and Emigration, in its first ordinary session, if it does not meet especially in view of the gravity of this matter, will manifest itself in the direction of demand-

ing more consideration from the public powers, seeing that, the precedent being established, any day a fearful labour crisis may occur in the province, even if it does not go to the extreme, namely, a general insurrection of the serviçaes, producing scenes of vandalism and devastation such as occurred in the island of San Domingo.

But this is not the case. What happened is that the Mozambique serviçaes are right, and that, being invited to contract themselves for one year only, they signed by cross documents, wherein surreptitiously was included the clause that they gave their services for three years, and not for one, as had been declared to them first of all. Of what use then was the presence of the curator if this authority could not or did not know how to avoid the mystification of which the serviçaes were victims? If the action of the Government, ordering the claimants to be repatriated, constitutes, as it appears, the absolute recognition that "in any case" the latter are right, for what reason does the action of the Government not go further?

But why have we to formulate any hypothesis? In spite of the pleasing regulations of 1908, which were so enthusiastically eulogized by the eternal cocoa estate magnates, the contracts continue to be the dust thrown in the eyes of those who insistently protest against the present state of things, and the conflict happened because it was not a question of the patient serviçaes of Angola, but of Mozambique labourers who are less easily deceived with false promises, and have, as is seen, a perfectly clear notion of time.

In former times the total number of immigrant workers came from Angola; torn away by unmentionable methods from primitive life in the interior, and

generally recognizing themselves as slaves, they came to S. Thomé as they would go to any other part, ignorant of their destination and without any idea of returning to their native country. Those were ideal workers, and in the terminology of the regime of colonial labour no other name than that of slaves belonged to them, which, moreover, they gave themselves. Times changed, and so that it should not be affirmed that only Angola, with serious prejudice to its economy, constantly supplied hands to S. Thomé, the last resource of trying workers of other regions was resorted to.

The Chinese, as is well known, proved bad as agricultural labourers for the special demands of the S. Thomé cultivations ; those from Guinea, according to a perfectly unbiassed opinion, were as a rule very capable, but were a very long time in possessing the qualities of submission which the growers were accustomed to find almost without exceptions in the poor Angolans ; now the experience with those of Mozambique has commenced, and it is also discovered, as facts prove, that passivity is not their chief quality, and that, conscious of their rights, they know how to revolt when they consider them infringed.

But other experiments in recruiting are also tried in Africa : natives from the east coast, for example, at work in the mines, or from Guinea, who go to the neighbouring French colonies for the rubber harvest, give their services voluntarily to agricultural or other work under the direction of Europeans, although they are removed from the interior where they were born. What, then, is the reason that when in S. Thomé, and in spite of their being surrounded with all theoretical guarantees offered by the "model" regulations, the contract ends in riot ?

The raw material—the worker—is evidently the same ; the conditions of material life of the serviçaes, if we believe in the reality of the stipulations regarding constant care in the regulations, are incomparably better than those which they enjoyed when on their own resources right in the interior, and S. Thomé, in the words of numerous eulogizers, is the “paradise of negroes” ; then if the machine leaves off working regularly, there exists an unknown disturbing element which, in spite of the good natural qualities of the workers and humanitarian intentions of the legislation in force, produces at times these sudden outbreaks.

It is not difficult to guess what this disturbing element is, and it is against it that we, in excellent company it may be said, have always protested. This element is the immeasurable greed of those who, not content with the proper though uncertain profits from the plantations, try to get still greater return by repugnant methods of recruiting and keeping of serviçaes, which upset these beautiful theories, and in practice drive the workers who are less ignorant and more civilized on to violent protests which the Government itself is obliged to recognize and satisfy.

Economista, September 26th, 1909 (being an extract from the “Angolense” of Angola). Serious news from S. João dos Angolares, S. Thomé.

Under the title of “Grave !” the *Equatorial*, of S. Thomé, published an article dealing with the complaint made to the proper office by a hundred odd natives from Mozambique, who had been contracted for a plantation.

The *Equatorial* wrote as follows :—

“A hundred odd Mozambicans, who had been contracted for the S. João dos Angolares plantation, presented themselves a few days ago in the curator’s office, to protest against the fact, which had only just come to their knowledge, of their contracts having been made for three years, when the term proposed to them, and accepted by them, was for one year.

“They therefore refused to continue in the service of the plantation and demanded their repatriation.

“They still needed, however, twenty odd days to finish the first year, and the curator instructed them to return to the plantation, having to resort to arms for this purpose, in view of the resistance they offered, almost as a body.”

This fact—on which the author of the article makes some sound comments—explains the reason why the planters of the islands on the Equator prefer natives from Angola to those from other colonial possessions.

Being ignorant of their rights, seeing that they are contracted in a wild state, and without any knowledge whatever of the act to which they are parties by force, the Angolan natives never claim repatriation because, not knowing that they are entitled to it, they likewise do not know when it should be effected.

Such a thing does not happen to the Mozambicans and Cape Verdians, who know when their contracts start and end, and the salaries that are due to them.

The *Equatorial*, of S. Thomé, of 10th August last, published an article declaring that more than one hundred Mozambicans had protested against the fact of their contracts having been made for three years, when the term accepted by them was for one.

We understand that steps have already been taken, the licence of the recruiter, Pinto Bastos, being cancelled, and that a telegram was sent to S. Thomé demanding the repatriation of those natives, to which the Governor of S. Thomé replied that they would come by the next transport.—From the *Lourenço Marques Guardian*.

I witnessed myself the arrival of some of these Mozambique labourers in S. Thomé, and was full of hope for the success of this first experiment of the employment of a free and more independent race from East Africa. A healthy rivalry which has always existed between the Portuguese colonies in East and West Africa gives me hope that this disgraceful jobbery will not again occur.

The Lisbon *Seculo* of September 20th, 1909, publishes a report of the proceedings on the tenth session of the National Labour Congress of the Southern Region of Portugal, in which the following occurs :—

The second part of the order of proceedings, that referring to African labourers, was given to Sñr. Ladislaw Batalha, who read an extensive report, concluding with the following :—

1st. That the Portuguese Government, in the occupation of the African colonies, should substitute for the system of armed penetration that of peace, as being more worthy of the sympathy of the people subjected and the approval of the most cultured nations.

2nd. That it should exert every effort to concede immediately a liberal autonomy to the province of Angola.

3rd. That it should prepare, with far-reaching legislative measures, the autonomy of Mozambique and its dependencies.

4th. That it should give greater amplitude to the attributes of the governments of S. Thomé and Principe and Guinea.

5th. That the Government should create in all the African colonies domination schools for the education of the labourers, in accordance with what has already been attempted with regard to Mossamedes by decree of the 4th December, 1880.

6th. That, until the autonomous state of the colonies is realized, a special section destined to regulate the paid labour in the Portuguese colonies should be consigned in the General Code of Labour, lately voted in this congress, for the purpose of extending as far as possible to the African labourers the liberty of action to contract with whomsoever they wish and for any period desired, although it should be necessary to exercise a rigorous fiscalization so as to prevent the engagers or contractors from abusing the simplicity of the natives by deceiving or alluring with impossible promises.

Sñr. Batalha made extensive considerations on the thesis that he has presented, affirming that at the present time slavery is still exercised in Africa.

He described, with knowledge of the subject, the manner of enslaving the natives, demonstrating that the contracts are a deception, as is also the so-called "redemption," a system of slavery in use in Angola, and which consists in the black, having committed some offence, being fined a certain sum, and, when unable to pay, he redeems it, that is, he sells himself to pay the fine.

It is perhaps fortunate for the native of Angola that the consumer in Europe will always be more fastidious about an article of food than with other articles of commerce, such as ivory and rubber. The specious labour systems of the modern African speculator must stand the light of open examination before they will pass muster in our national tribunal, or satisfy the British public which hates a sham.

In Africa there are many more negro races than white races in Europe, and no one system of government will apply to all. I, however, hope that it may not be long before the Powers charged with the responsibility of governing in Africa will meet together in conference to agree upon international standards in many matters of mutual interest, and including particularly the laws regulating native contracts and labour.

More urgent than all in Portugal and the Portuguese colonies is the need for a higher standard of public morality; and the appointment of Government officials, fearless in the service of the best interests of the State, adequately paid, and freed from the trammels of private financial interests. I know that Portugal breeds such men, and when they hold the reins of government it will not be needful to annually issue elaborate revisions of the Native Labour Regulations, for the honour of Portugal and the freedom of her subjects will be established once more on a sure foundation of Right and Justice.

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